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MISCELLANIES.

COLLECTED AND EDITED

BY

EARL STANHOPE.

SECOND EDITION.

WITH SOME SUPPLEMENTARY LETTERS.

LONDON:
JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET.
1863.

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LONDON: PRINTED BY W. CLOWES AND SONS, STAMFORD STREET,
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PREFACE.

THE Miscellanies in prose and verse here put together are for the most part unconnected in subject or in period; but all of them appear to me worthy of permanent record.

As their Editor, my wish has been to reduce my own share in them to the narrowest possible limits, and to insert only such letters or parts of letters from myself as might seem necessary for the elucidation of the rest.

January, 1863. S.

Note.—One supplementary letter from Mr. Pitt to the Duke of Rutland, a few also to Lord Harrowby, and one from Lord Harrowby to Earl Talbot, have been added in the Second Edition. They are likewise published in a separate form, so as to admit of being joined to the earlier copies.

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MISCELLANIES.

MR. PITT ON THE IRISH PROPOSITIONS.

1785.

Of these letters, only two extracts, as material to the narrative, were given in my 'Life of Pitt.' Here the reader may not perhaps be displeased to find them at full length.

S.

Mr. Pitt to the Duke of Rutland.

[Most Private.]

Putney Heath, May 21, 1785.

My dear Duke,

I understand, by a letter which Mr. Rose received yesterday morning from Mr. Orde, that you would despatch a messenger with an answer to my former letter on Thursday or Friday. I do not wait his arrival, because there are some points on which I am anxious to write fully to you without loss of time. By the nature of what I have to say, you will perceive it to

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be in absolute confidence between you and me, and meant only for your private perusal, though I trust it will appear to you to be of weight in influencing the public measures of which you have the guidance. I find Mr. Orde alarmed at our insisting on perpetuating the laws for the collection of the revenue, and apprehensive of the effects of other amendments. You will, I am sure, give me credit, my dear Duke, from every motive, public or private, for wishing to smooth the way to this great settlement as much as possible. Its speedy and prosperous conclusion interests me in every point of view; and to diminish your share of difficulties, I trust you will think is not a matter of indifference to me. But, really, this point does appear to me, both in itself and from the combination of circumstances, absolutely indispensable. The grounds have been often explained, and in a letter I have now written to Mr. Orde I have repeated many of them.

But, besides this, we are committed in the eyes of the public by a Resolution deliberately brought forward after an interval of two months; and we cannot recede without giving an advantage against us, which we might never recover. Do not imagine because we have had two triumphant divisions that we have everything before us. We have an indefatigable enemy, sharpened by disappointment, watching and improving every opportunity. It has required infinite patience, management, and exertion to meet the clamour without doors, and to prevent it infecting our supporters in the House. Our majority, though a large one, is composed of men who think, or at least act, so much for themselves, that we

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are hardly sure from day to day what impression they may receive. We have worked them up to carry us through this undertaking in its present shape; but we have had awkwardness enough already in many parts of the discussion. The idea of having stirred this question first in Ireland, without taking previously the sense of the Parliament of England; the necessity we have been under to make explanations and amendments which, though perfectly consistent with the general tenor of the original Resolutions, are, for this purpose, magnified and misrepresented by Opposition; the inference attempted to be drawn from hence, that the Propositions were not at first properly considered; and the argument drawn for further delay, from stating the danger which would have followed if they had been passed as we first proposed them; all these topics, enforced and aggravated, as you will imagine them, have damped, and perhaps, in some instances, discontented our friends, even in the moment of victory. Any new circumstance of embarrassment might have the effect, sooner than can almost be imagined, of reversing our apparent situation of strength and security. It would give a credit to the invidious attacks of Opposition and a turn to the general opinion which we should not know how to counteract.

I assure you therefore seriously, and upon my honour, that the carrying this point seems essential to the success of this measure, and material to all the future prospects of Government. Knowing all you feel on this subject, I need say no more. You will, I am sure, not let any difficulty that can by possibility be surmounted

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involve our whole system in hazard. You are not, I am aware, without plagues and embarrassments on your side, but I believe (though, on the whole, I do not envy it) that you have a Parliament more manageable than ours. Your perseverance has abated, if not extinguished, the alarms without doors. On this point you are in no respect committed against it. The solid objections, in point of argument, are none. We are absolutely committed for it. The security of the contribution, on the strength of which we uphold our system, is gone without it; and therefore, unless this can be carried, believe me, the whole settlement is at an end. As to your means of carrying it, it is difficult to judge at a distance; but I protest, if it is resolutely pushed, I can hardly conceive how you can have any formidable opposition.

Adieu, my dear Duke. I cannot describe to you the earnestness and anxiety with which I write on this subject, feeling how near we are to the attainment of so great an object—and yet how possible it is for this circumstance, comparatively small, to defeat the whole.

Believe me ever
Most faithfully and affectionately yours,
W. PITT.

Be so good as to destroy this letter when you have read and considered it.

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Mr. Pitt to the Duke of Rutland.

[Private.]

MY DEAR DUKE, Burton Pynsent, Aug. 8, 1785.

I arrived here last Thursday, intending to forget, if possible, for a little while the scene which has lasted so long, and had the mortification to find my mother recovering but slowly (though out of danger) from a complaint in her stomach of a very alarming sort, with which she was attacked about a fortnight since. She has been mending from that time; but, under these circumstances, and after two years' absence, I hardly find an hour to command here more easily than in the busy moments of London. I most devoutly hope that the shape in which we have sent our Bill, and the alterations in yours to make it correspond, will prove satisfactory. We have strove to consult, not only reason, but even, as far as we could, prejudice; and I know not how we can, on this side, go an inch farther. The main difficulties seem so far removed, that I can hardly see how accident or malice can raise any essential obstacles; and I hope for the best. If you succeed in the accomplishment of the great work which now rests with you, I may indeed congratulate you on the most important service which I believe can, in the existing state of things, be rendered to either kingdom.

I have a long arrear of things to say to you, and have even now hardly the leisure. You will, I am sure, have accounted for my silence from the real cause; and I must still wait an opportunity to write more fully.

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I cannot omit telling you, however, that the conclusion of our Session has been in all respects triumphant. The zeal of our friends seems more confirmed than ever, and everything essential to the strength of our Government as satisfactory as possible. I find rumours are spread of a spirit of disunion in the Cabinet, especially on the subject of Ireland. I can assure you, on my honour (and it is a subject on which I would, on no consideration, leave you in the dark), that the reverse is the truth. Whatever room for discussion there may be in the modes to be adopted; in all substantial points, and in the common cause of Government, a more cordial co-operation never existed. The newspapers are equally filled with lies on the idea of hostile appearances towards France. The state of politics on the Continent is delicate enough; but still, I believe, may be improved to our advantage, without any hazard of our being involved. And let this business of Ireland terminate well, let peace continue for five years, and we shall again look any Power in Europe in the face.

In what remains to be done in Ireland, I have only to conjure you not to admit of expedients which sacrifice any part of the consistency, effect, or even appearance of the plan to the caprices or pretences of men who either object captiously and without intending to be satisfied, or who are afraid for any object to hazard momentary unpopularity.

The fourth Proposition, as explained by the Address, by our Bill, and by the draft of yours, as we have corrected it, is essential to everything. Any attempt to fritter it down, under colour of making it more palat-

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able, should, at all events, be rejected. To attempt to blink or to disguise so fundamental a point would, in my firm belief, be as ruinous as I am sure it would be disgraceful. Putting it, like all the other points, expressly as a fundamental article of the settlement, is the only way that can either be distinct or effectual.

I meant to have added a page on the subject of individuals concerning whom you have written to me, but I must close for the present.

Yours ever most affectionately,

W. PITT.

Mr. Pitt to the Duke of Rutland.

MY DEAR DUKE, Putney Heath, August 17, 1785.

I confess myself not a little disappointed and hurt in the account brought me to-day by your letter, and Mr. Orde's, of the event of Friday. I had hoped that neither prejudice nor party could on such an occasion have made so many proselytes against the true interests of the country; but the die seems in a great measure to be cast, at least for the present. Whatever it leads to, we have the satisfaction of having proposed a system which, I believe, will not be discredited even by its failure, and we must wait times and seasons for carrying it into effect.

I think you judge most wisely in making it your

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plan to give the interval of a long adjournment as soon as the Bill has been read and printed. With so doubtful a majority, and with so much industry to raise a spirit of opposition without doors, this is not the moment for pressing farther. It will remain to be seen whether, by showing a firm and unalterable decision to abide by the system in its present shape, and by exerting every effort both to instruct and to influence the country at large into a just opinion of the advantages held out to them, a favourable change may be produced in the general current of opinion before the time comes for resuming the consideration of the Bill.

I am not at all sanguine in my expectations of your division on the intended motion on Monday last. Though an opposition frequently loses its advantage by attempting to push it too far, yet on such a question, and with the encouragement of so much success, I rather conclude that absurdity and faction will have gained a second triumph; but I am very far from thinking it impossible that reflection and discussion may operate a great change before the time at which your Parliament will probably meet after the adjournment. I very much wish you may at least have been just able to ward off Flood's motion, lest its standing on the Journals should be an obstacle to farther proceedings at a happier moment. It is still almost incomprehensible to me who can have been the deserters who reduced our force so low, and I wait with great impatience for a more particular account.

All I have to say, in the mean time, is very short:

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let us meet what has happened, or whatever may happen, with the coolness and determination of persons who may be defeated, but cannot be disgraced; and who know that those who obstruct them are greater sufferers than themselves. You have only to preserve the same spirit and temper you have shown throughout in the remainder of this difficult scene. Your own credit and fame will be safe, as well as that of your friends. I wish I could say the same of the country you have been labouring to serve.

Our cause is on too firm a rock here to be materially shaken, even for the time, by this disappointment; and when the experience of this fact has produced a little more wisdom in Ireland, I believe the time will yet come when we shall see all our views realized in both countries, and for the advantage of both. It may be sooner or later, as accident, or perhaps (for some time) malice, may direct; but it will be right at last. We must spare no human exertion to bring forward the moment as early as possible; but we must be prepared also to wait for it on one uniform and resolute ground, be it ever so late.

It will be no small consolation to you, in the doubtful state of this one important object, that every other part of the public scene affords the most encouraging and animating prospect; and you have, above all, the satisfaction of knowing that your Government has made a more vigorous effort (whatever be its ultimate success) than I believe any other period of Irish history will produce since the present train of government has been

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established. I write this as the first result of my feelings, and I write it to yourself alone.

Believe me ever
Your most affectionate and faithful friend,
W. PITT.

P.S.—I would write to Orde, but I am fearful of detaining the messenger, and I should only repeat much of what I have said here. Will you have the goodness to tell him the cause of my not immediately answering his letter.

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MR. PITT ON THE IRISH APPOINTMENTS.

1794-5.

THE following letters, as preserved in their original Drafts, appear to me of considerable interest. But I thought them too voluminous for my 'Life of Pitt,' especially since I there inserted other writings of the Minister which refer to the same events, and which announce the same conclusions.

S.

Mr. Pitt to the Earl of Westmorland.

Downing Street,
October 19, 1794.

DEAR WESTMORLAND,

I have deferred from day to day writing to you, thinking I might have something decisive to tell you; but notwithstanding repeated discussions, which have employed almost my whole time for several days, I am still unable to judge how the business will finally end. If I thought what has passed was the result of any such deliberate project as you suspect, I should be of opinion, notwithstanding all the difficulties of the moment, that a separation from the party would be the best for ourselves and the public, and that at least it ought to be risked rather than suffer Lord Fitzwilliam

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or any connexion of the Duke of Portland's to go to Ireland. But on the fullest consideration, I really believe, strange as the proceeding has been, it has been more the result of indiscretion, both in the principals and their Irish connexions, than of any settled plan. On every other point the conduct of all our new friends has been perfectly cordial and satisfactory; and, under all the misfortunes abroad, they seem thoroughly inclined to take fairly their full share in the difficulties of the crisis, and to persevere in all the unprecedented efforts which it requires.

Under these circumstances I feel that to force them to a breach, if it can be avoided with honour, is to expose the public and the King's service to an additional risk, which at such a moment as this especially cannot be justified, and I trust on reflection you will concur with me in that opinion. I think, therefore, that I ought not to put a negative altogether on Lord Fitzwilliam's going, provided the line of measures to be pursued is satisfactorily settled, and all idea of violent change put out of the question; and provided that an opening is found here which may be satisfactory to you, and also show that it is clearly settled that the supporters of Government in Ireland are not sacrificed.

With regard to the line of measures, I think from the explanations which have taken place, that there is no difficulty to be apprehended. But with respect to the two next points, though my decision has been clearly and repeatedly stated, I have not yet received any final answer. I do not at present see clearly the means of any practicable opening for you of a sort

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likely to be satisfactory, unless, on Lord Fitzwilliam's going, you succeed either to the situation of President or Privy Seal. I am not sure whether, in case of extremity, I could not make an arrangement which might enable me to propose to you to be Lord Steward, or Master of the Horse, which, I conclude, you would not object to. At present, however, I have left this part of the subject depending on the point whether the Duke of Portland will prevail on Lord Mansfield to set aside his pretensions to be President; and he has not yet quite made up his mind on the subject.

With respect to the supporters of Government, they seem to make no difficulty in continuing them in their present situations, with only one exception. But unluckily that exception is the Chancellor[1] whom they make a point of removing; which I have positively refused to concur in, and it there also remains to be seen whether they will give way. On these two points it will chiefly depend whether we can go on or not, though perhaps it is not quite impossible that it may end in Lord Fitzwilliam's retaining his present situation, which in some views would be best of all. On the whole, my present opinion is that they will not push things to an extremity, and that, finding me determined on the points I have mentioned, they will ultimately give way upon them.

There are still some other subordinate points which may be embarrassing, but on which I am sure you will

[1] Lord Fitzgibbon.

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give every reasonable facility, if the essential ones are settled. I find an opinion strongly entertained that if the Provostship is to be given on academical, and not political grounds, that principle is but half executed, and a marked affront at the same time offered to the University, if it is given to any but one of their own body. It will therefore be very much wished that you should not press the recommendation of Bennet. He is otherwise so well provided for, that I hope, as far as concerns him, you will be under no difficulty. I am chiefly afraid of your being embarrassed with respect to the other arrangements you intended dependent on this, particularly Marly's promotion. But that point can probably be settled through Grattan, if matters are accommodated. The other difficulty is respecting the Secretary of State, which, on the same supposition, they will naturally want to make use of for some of the new friends; and they may state some reason, if they are not allowed to make room for any by removal. To this I should see no great objection, if we can find some other adequate provision for Douglas, which I hold to be indispensable.

I am afraid, from your letters, that your first impression on all I have written will be, that I am too moderate in conceding; but you must consider how much depends, in such a moment as this, on avoiding both the reality and the appearance of weakness and disunion in the Government at home. The task on our hands is difficult enough for all our joint efforts; and every sentiment of jealousy or resentment ought to be lost in a sense of its importance and urgency.

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I enclose you a Memorandum on the subject of the 83rd, which it may be of the utmost importance that we should have here as soon as possible; and I shall be much obliged if you will send it with your usual despatch. We have a scheme on which I will write to you soon, by which I think [we might have] some additional troops in a state of very good discipline, almost immediately.

Believe me, &c.,

W. PITT.

Mr. Pitt to the Earl of Westmorland.

Downing Street,
November 19, 1794.

DEAR WESTMORLAND,

Mr. Cooke arrived at the moment that we were engaged in an explanation, which had nearly brought to a point all the questions respecting Ireland which it was necessary to discuss, and the little which then remained to be done is since completed. Under the variety of urgent business which presses from all quarters, I have not time to-day to write to you as fully as I wish, but I think it better to write shortly rather than add to a delay which has been too long already. As far as you are personally concerned, I have proceeded all along on the idea with which the statement of your sentiments in a Memorandum which Mr. Cooke has sent me perfectly coincides: namely, that you have no personal anxiety to remain in Ireland, but that after what has passed you could not quit the Lord Lieute-

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nancy without coming immediately to some situation here of such rank and distinction as to prove unquestionably that your conduct is approved, and your personal consideration and importance is not lowered. I am aware, however, from your former letters, that an office actually in the Cabinet is what you would look to for this purpose. On this point I must fairly state to you that no such arrangement is practicable; and however happy I should have been to gratify any wish of yours, if the state of political parties had left more opening, I am sure you will feel that I could not sacrifice to that object a system which circumstances have rendered (at a critical time) essential to the King's service. I must add, though I must be always ready and glad to acknowledge how creditably and advantageously you have conducted the King's Government in Ireland, I do not think that even that plea makes it a matter necessary that you should on your return succeed to a Cabinet office. The place which I now expect to be enabled immediately to propose to you is that of Master of the Horse. Lord Mansfield, on succeeding to the Presidentship, is to give up the office of Lord Justice General, which I am quite sure the Duke of Montrose will readily accept in exchange for that of Master of the Horse; but as he is on his road from Scotland, I have not yet seen him.

This situation is always considered, in point of rank, as not beneath any claims or pretensions; and I am therefore persuaded, even though your wishes may have pointed to one of a different nature, you will on consideration reckon this arrangement satisfactory.

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With respect to the system in Ireland, every idea is disclaimed which ought to give any reasonable jealousy. Whatever may arise to require instruction from hence will be settled in the same manner as any other branch of government, and certainly not without my full concurrence. No violent changes of any sort are in contemplation, and it is completely understood that the former supporters of Government will be fairly and honourably treated and consulted with, while new friends are admitted to a fair participation, and former distinction of parties put as far as possible out of the question, as it has been here. With respect to Lord Fitzgibbon in particular, I have full assurances of a disposition to act with him in the manner due to his situation; and as his name has been so much brought into question, I mean to take the first opportunity of writing to him, to state explicitly the result of what has passed.

There remain, I think, but two other points on which I need say anything. The first of these relates to your recommendations and engagements. As to the first, I much wish to leave the Provostship open for further discussion. The grant of the Secretaryship of State, I think, will be completed, and Mr. Douglas will be ready to resign it immediately on our settling an arrangement for him here. The Secretaryship of State, it is understood, should then be annexed to the office of Chief Secretary, and the other office of Keeper of the Signet given to Ponsonby. The Deanery of Ferns will be given to your recommendation. The vacant Bishopric I should hope you will not object to my

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leaving open, with a view to accommodation, it being understood that your chaplain, for whom you intended it, is to be otherwise provided for. With respect to the Primacy, I think all opinions here will concur clearly in the propriety of appointing the Bishop of Norwich, so that no difficulty can arise on that head. As to engagements, any that you cannot fulfil must certainly be managed with good faith by your successor. That of Lord Glentworth is the only one which I understand to be positive, and on that I foresee no difficulty. The Attorney-General will, I dare say, be promoted on the first occasion of vacancy of the chief of any Court. It is wished to arrange immediately with the Solicitor-General that he should retire on terms satisfactory to himself, which it is supposed may be easily adjusted, and it is meant G. Ponsonby should succeed him.

The next point is, the idea of stipulating for distinct reparation for the improper conduct held towards you. I have no difficulty in saying that any such idea seems inconsistent with our system going on cordially here, which is more indispensable than you are aware of. In the next place, for yourself I am clear that to urge such an idea is neither wise nor necessary. Your honour is perfectly saved by receiving on your return a public mark of approbation and consideration; by your being satisfied that those who have supported your Government will have justice done them; and thirdly, by your remaining engagements being properly attended to.

I began this letter the day before yesterday, but was interrupted; and yesterday I was detained the whole day at Horne Tooke's trial. You will have the good-

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ness to make a discreet use of the general purport of this letter, as far as you think necessary; but the particulars are only for yourself. I will write you an ostensible letter soon, or send you a copy of that to Lord Fitzgibbon.

I shall of course be impatient for the return of the messenger.

I remain, &c., &c.,

W. P.

Mr. Pitt to Earl Fitzwilliam.

MY DEAR LORD, Downing Street, Feb. 9, 1795.

I feel myself under the necessity of troubling your Lordship on a variety of subjects with respect to Irish arrangements which have lately given me much anxiety. I cannot help flattering myself that several of the reports which have reached me must have proceeded from some misapprehension, or that the circumstances have not been fully known to your Lordship. At all events, from an anxious desire of doing everything that is possible to avoid uneasiness and embarrassment, either here or in Ireland, I have thought it best to state to your Lordship directly what I have heard, and the reflections which occur to me in consequence.

The first point relates to Mr. Beresford, with respect to whom I had heard reports to which I was unwilling to give credit; but who, I since find, has now received a letter of dismission from his office of First Commissioner of Revenue, with an assurance that he shall have an

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allowance from the incidents of Excise equal to his salary of 2000*l.* per annum. By your letter to the Duke of Portland, which his Grace has been so good as to show me, I see your Lordship conceives him to be consenting to this arrangement, and satisfied with it.

On the other hand, I understand from himself that the communication he received was in the first instance peremptory as to his quitting his office; and that the only subject of discussion was the provision to be made for him. He considers himself as forcibly turned out; and so far from consenting to any part of the arrangement, he demands that if he must quit his office, the proposed allowance should be secured to him for life, which it is not, as I apprehend, in the power of the Government of Ireland to do, and for which it is obviously impossible to recur to Parliament. I must remark that though your Lordship at different times mentioned apprehensions of Mr. Beresford's supposed influence and power, from ideas which I always conceived to be mistaken, no intention was to my recollection ever hinted at, even in the most distant manner, of proposing his removal from the Revenue Board, much less of doing so without his consent. Indeed, if a change in so principal an office had been in your contemplation, it would certainly have been mentioned at the meeting here, at which all the other official arrangements which you thought of were discussed. And certainly if it had been then mentioned, Lord Grenville and I should have stated it as in itself liable to the strongest objection, particularly from its being inconsistent with that principle of protection to the servants of Government which we conceived you to

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have fully adopted, and by which alone the full advantages of the union which had taken place here could be extended to Ireland; instead of considering it as an object fit to be purchased at so dear a rate as an additional burden of 2000*l.* per annum to the public. While all these general considerations press themselves on my mind, you will not wonder that I cannot help also feeling it as a circumstance of some additional weight in this particular instance, that the change which has thus been announced could never take effect but by a direct authority from hence, and that under the signature of the Lords of the Treasury.

I am not so minutely informed of what is supposed to have passed with the Attorney-General, but I am apprehensive his free consent to the arrangement in which he is concerned has been as little asked as Mr. Beresford's. The same remark I am afraid applies as strongly to the Solicitor-General; and it is material to remind your Lordship, that even if means could have been found of reconciling it to them both to retire at once, it was agreed here that both vacancies should not take place immediately, in order to avoid the bringing Mr. G. Ponsonby at once into the situation of Attorney-General.

I must add that, at all events, removing the Attorney-General from his present situation, unless for the purpose of giving him a seat on the Bench suited to his legal character, will not, as I fear, be found to render the state of the Legal department more creditable to Government, or more satisfactory to the public. The idea of recommending Mr. Ponsonby for the office of

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Secretary of State, under the notion of its being afterwards relinquished by him, is not only liable to all the objections originally stated to that appointment, but to many more arising from the other circumstances to which I have referred.

All these arrangements—if they were to take place—could carry no impression to the public but that of a studied and immediate change in almost all the principal departments. I am very sorry to add to this unpleasant detail, but I cannot pass over the case of Lord Glentworth, whose history your Lordship knows. The manner in which the patent was opened for him is, I believe, not new. The argument of its absorbing the patronage of a successor could not for many obvious reasons be applied very forcibly to his case, and much less to the question of his succeeding to the actual vacancy, after the engagement to provide for him, of which I apprised your Lordship.

There is also an application for Church preferment from Lord Dysart, which I am bound to state, because Lord Westmorland engaged to comply with it when there were Bishoprics vacant (becoming so in his time), which would have afforded him the means. He waived these recommendations at my desire to accommodate your Lordship, and, as I understand, left with you a Memorandum of his promise, of which Lord Dysart claims from him the performance.

On some of these points I should have written to you sooner, but that the state of business has really not left me the time of doing so; and it is not without very deep regret that I feel myself under the necessity of

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interrupting your attention by considerations of this sort, while there are so many others of a different nature to which all our minds ought to be directed.

Believe me, &c.,

W. PITT.

Mr. Pitt to Earl Fitzwilliam.

Downing Street,
February 21, 1795.

MY DEAR LORD,

After the sentiments contained in my last letter, on the subject of the different official arrangements, and the communication of the opinion of Government respecting the Catholic Question, which you have received from the Duke of Portland, your Lordship will easily judge of the pain with which I have learnt your determination, as stated in your letter to me of the 14th, and in your despatches by the same messenger.

With respect to the present state of the Catholic Question, I refer to the despatches from the Duke of Portland, in the sentiments of which I entirely concur; and which must make me anxious that all who wish well to the interests of Government should join in preventing any further progress being made in Mr. Grattan's Bill till we have received and considered the information which we have thought it our duty to call for.

With respect to arrangements, I need only add that I feel myself bound to adhere to the sentiments which I have stated, not only with respect to Mr. Beresford, but

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to the line of conduct adopted in so many instances towards the former supporters of Government. By these sentiments I must be guided, from a regard to the King's service and my own honour, however sincerely I may lament the consequence which, as your Lordship has announced, must result from the present situation.

I have the honour, &c.,

W. P.

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MR. PITT AND LORD HARROWBY.

1798—1805.

THE letters of Mr. Pitt to Lord Harrowby (though important, few in number and making a very small packet) were supposed to be lost or destroyed. It was not till late in the autumn of 1862 that the present Earl by accident found them on examining the contents of a piece of furniture till then overlooked. He had the kindness to place them at my free disposal, and I selected from them the four of chief importance to include in my first edition. But, finding that they excite considerable interest, I have since increased the number to eight.

The first was written by Mr. Pitt on Saturday, May 26th, 1798, the evening before his duel with Mr. Tierney, in which Mr. Dudley Ryder, afterwards Lord Harrowby, acted as his second.

The next, of September, 1804, was when Lord Harrowby, at that time Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, was absent upon a visit to the King at Weymouth. It shows that the bold and resolute order to seize the Spanish treasure-ships—an order which was carried into effect near Cadiz on the 5th of October fol-

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lowing, and which led to a declaration of war on the part of Spain—was entirely and emphatically the act of Mr. Pitt.

The other letters, written in November and December, 1805, when Lord Harrowby had gone on a special embassy to the Court of Berlin, will explain the projects and the hopes of Mr. Pitt at that momentous crisis of the war with France.

S.

Mr. Pitt to Mr. Dudley Ryder.

[Secret.]

Downing Street,
Saturday, ½ past 5, P.M.

DEAR RYDER,

If you can find five minutes, I should be much obliged to you if you would call here, if possible before dinner; if not, as soon after as is possible, on a business on which I know I may trust to your friendship, and which does not admit of delay.

Yours ever,

W. P.

Mr. Pitt to Lord Harrowby.

Downing Street, Tuesday,
Sept. 18, 1804.

DEAR HARROWBY,

You will receive by this messenger some despatches which were received yesterday at the Admi-

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ralty from Admiral Cochrane off Ferrol. Frere[1] arrived last night, and we have seen him this morning. He confirms the opinion given by Admiral Cochrane, that there is no prospect of the dispute between Spain and America leading to a rupture, and he states this on the authority of Pinckney, who told him he was persuaded that the Spanish Government had instructed its Minister in America to give way on the subject of the ratification. This circumstance seems to take away all pretext for the armament in the Spanish ports, and to leave little doubt of its being really destined to co-operate with the French force against this country. Indeed the bare circumstance of such an armament taking place, unaccompanied by any explanation to us of its object, and after the repeated declarations which have been made to the Spanish Court that such a measure would be considered by us as inconsistent with the continuance of their neutrality, seems at once to call for a decisive line on our part. On this ground it has appeared to all the Members of the Cabinet, who were within reach of town, that instructions should be immediately sent to our naval commanders to stop at all events the sailing of either Spanish or French ships from Ferrol, or any further reinforcements being collected there; and also (if it be not too late) to intercept and detain till further orders the frigates expected with the remaining treasure from America.

This determination will, I am pretty sure, appear to you, as it has done to us, to be the only one which can

[1] Mr. Hookham Frere, lately Minister at the Court of Madrid.

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with propriety be taken under the present circumstances. We have drawn a minute of Cabinet on these ideas, and have thought it best to send it to you, that you may take the first convenient opportunity of laying it before the King. In the mean time, as every hour may be material to the execution of the instructions, they will be immediately forwarded to Admiral Cornwallis, and His Majesty will, I am persuaded, not disapprove of this step being taken without waiting for his previous orders.

It will of course be necessary to follow this measure either by fresh instructions to Frere's brother at Madrid, or by sending out Wellesley[1] immediately, if his health will admit of it, and if it should on consideration be thought right in the present situation to send any new Minister to Madrid. On this point, however (which is not quite so urgent), it will be time enough to decide after your return from Weymouth.

I have deferred going out of town for two or three days, but I have appointments on local business which will probably oblige me to go to Walmer for a day or two at the end of the week.

Ever sincerely yours,

W. PITT.

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[1] The Hon. Henry Wellesley, afterwards Lord Cowley.

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Mr. Pitt to Lord Harrowby.

Downing Street,
Nov. 6, 1805.

DEAR HARROWBY,

I cannot let Jackson depart without one word to congratulate you on the glorious news of which he is the bearer. One hardly knows how in the first moment to enjoy the triumph, considering the sacrifice it has cost. But I trust that the battle of *Trasalgar*[1] will operate in no small degree even on the Continent to counterbalance the impression of that of *Ulm*, and will teach Bonaparte what his chance is of acquiring "the ships, and commerce, and colonies" which he wants. It will not escape you to state how much the more we value this victory, as it will enable us to co-operate with additional vigour in every effort on the Continent. We are still without any farther intelligence from Berlin.

Ever sincerely yours,

W. PITT.

Mr. Pitt to Lord Harrowby.

Downing Street,
November 19, 1805.

DEAR HARROWBY,

Oubril immediately on his arrival went to Woronzow in the country. They are returned to town, but Woronzow has desired to put off our seeing him till to-

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[1] So in the original MS.

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morrow. At this moment, therefore, we are still unable to communicate to the Cabinet any knowledge of the Secret Article, and must consequently defer till to-morrow or next day preparing any official instructions on this new state of affairs. In the mean time I am so far from regretting your having set out to Berlin, that I feel only additional reason for rejoicing that you are there.

If the mediation is rejected (as is most probable), I am sanguine in believing that the proposals you are enabled to make will decide Prussia at once to make the two great efforts, against Bonaparte in Germany, and on this side for the recovery of Holland. A comparatively small force (suppose 40,000 men) added to the Russians, Swedes, and our own, would suffice for the last of these; and would leave, I should hope, a Prussian force amply sufficient with Saxons and Hessians to give a decided superiority in Germany. All this might be done even under Lombard's modification, which reserves to Prussia the liberty (if the demand for Hanover is not complied with) of making peace on its own terms, at six months' notice. But if once Prussia is embarked even on these terms, I think it cannot be impossible to find some other territorial arrangement (for Hanover is clearly out of the question) which will answer the purpose of giving it a more connected and solid frontier against France. One great advantage is gained towards the discussion of such arrangements with Russia and Austria, as they can now no longer object on their part to any other acquisition to Prussia of the same value with Hanover.

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If the mediation is accepted, and any serious negotiation for peace takes place, it is certainly of the utmost importance for us to press to be included in it; and we ought, I think, to let both Russia and Austria feel how impossible it is for them to make a peace separate from us without a breach of faith that might render desperate all hopes of further support from this country. Still, even if this should happen, we have a strong interest that a separate peace should provide all the security that can be obtained for the Continent. If decent terms are obtained, particularly if France is obliged *really* to evacuate Holland and leave it in a state of independence; and if the three great Continental Powers, after extorting concessions from France in the moment of victory, unite cordially in an obligation to resist all future encroachments, not only Europe will have gained much, but we shall have gained for the separate objects of this country more than enough for all the expense of subsidies in this year; and we may return to a state of separate war with little to guard against but the single point of Boulogne, and with increased means of concentering both our naval and land defence.

The first object therefore of my wishes is the immediate rejection of the mediation, and the embarking Prussia at any rate in active and decisive operations towards Germany and Holland, leaving it to be considered afterwards what territorial arrangements can be agreed upon to secure her permanent co-operation. The next would be in the event of negotiation our being included in it, on the terms of restoring all our

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conquests except Malta and the Cape; and the third (and though the worst, not a bad one) as good a separate peace as possible for our perfidious Allies, leaving us to fight our battle for ourselves. These are my present speculations; and I would not omit the opportunity of saying hastily all that occurs to me, by the messenger whom Castlereagh is sending with instructions to General Don. The nature of those instructions and other military details you will learn from Castlereagh.

Ever sincerely yours,

W. PITT.

Mr. Pitt to Lord Harrowby.

Downing Street,
November 23, 1805.

DEAR HARROWBY,

I have little occasion to trouble you by this messenger. You will see by the official despatch that notwithstanding the new situation produced by the Treaty of Potsdam and its Secret Article, we are still sanguine in hoping that you may in some degree, more or less, succeed in effecting the purposes of your mission. At the same time do not suppose that we are either insensible of all the difficulties of your task, or unprepared for the total failure of the attempt to embark Prussia in the war. At any rate I continue persuaded that even a peace in which we are not included will be productive of much good; and I hope you will think that we have taken the most prudent line, as well as the only one which could save our dignity and the honour

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of our Allies, in assuming to ourselves the merit of allowing them to treat without us, if we cannot be included on our own terms.

Mulgrave has told you that the King in fact knows the proposal about Hanover; but we have thought it best, in the first instance, that he should be supposed not to know it. It is certainly to be wished, if possible, that the negative to the proposal should not reach Prussia till the four weeks are expired at the end of which they are to make their decision; and I am not without hopes you may be able to make a provisional treaty in the first instance, in return only for subsidies, and assurances of our concurrence in the general object of improving the Prussian frontier, reserving the details of territorial arrangements for subsequent discussion.

We are impatient to learn how you found things on your first arrival, and the next accounts from you will probably very much abate or confirm our hopes; but we have thought it material to put you in possession as early as possible of our first impression on the present view of things. Under the line we mean to adopt, of consenting, if necessary, to our Allies treating separately, I see no awkwardness which such a proposal can occasion in your remaining at Berlin while the great objects for which you went remain still undecided.

Ever sincerely yours,

W. Pitt.

The statement in the despatch of to-day announces a considerably larger disposable British force for the

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spring than was mentioned in your first instructions; but it is the result of a very careful and repeated revision, and is certainly within the truth. Of course it reckons on the total of officers and men (as is done in the statements on the Continent), and not merely on rank and file.

Mr. Pitt to Lord Harrowby.

Downing Street,
November 29, 1805.

DEAR HARROWBY,

Being still without mails from the Continent, I have nothing new to write to you; but Woronzow insists that I should send a letter to you by M. d'Oubril, who sets out this evening. I suppose therefore he means that I should tell you (as I can with great truth) that we have found M. d'Oubril in the best possible principles, and disposed to communicate on every subject with the utmost candour and frankness. I think he appears to be a man of very good information, great zeal and talents for business; and he seems quite delighted with the manner in which you treated him, though he has told me with some pleasantry how you disappointed him of a good supper.

I have also, at Woronzow's desire, written a letter of cordiality and friendship to Novosiltzoff, who I hope is at Berlin. We are counting moments till we hear in what state you found things on your arrival, and what has been Haugwitz's reception at the French headquarters.

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I hope you do not suffer materially from the scene of increased perplexity and anxiety.

Ever sincerely yours,

W. P.

Mr. Pitt to Lord Harrowby.

Downing Street,
Dec. 5, 1805.

DEAR HARROWBY,

I am grieved to learn by your letter of the 24th that you had been so much persecuted by headaches, and that you had allowed the Secret Article of Potsdam to give you so much uneasiness. You must, I am sure, be satisfied that the way in which you have treated it is *the best possible*, because it gives no hopes of the thing being consented to, and at the same time avoids the necessity of any formal and official negative.

The great object, I think, is that Prussia should, if possible, decide on the result of Count Haugwitz's mission, without giving to the evil counsellors of the King of Prussia the advantage of stating to him that this object is precluded for ever. At the same time we cannot in good faith give the least assurance that it is likely to be ever attainable. Woronzow, who has been in town for ten days, but is gone again, writes to Alopeus that he has received from him the *Mémoire Raisonné* on the exchange of Hanover, but cannot present it to us till he has orders to do so from his own Court. We are therefore supposed to know nothing more of the matter.

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On the whole state of things you will perhaps be angry with me for saying that my hopes are still sanguine. I think I see great chance of Prussia agreeing to co-operate, either for a definite object or a limited time, in return for subsidies and for our assurance (which you know to be a very sincere one) of wishing to procure for them important acquisitions. The question of Hanover may, I think, be kept aloof. As to plans of operations it is almost idle to say anything; but you will have seen that we think the first and essential point is to act, as Prussia seems to intend, with a force sure of success in the rear of the French army in Germany. Still I cannot conceive what can be the military reasons why an attack on Holland should not take place at the same time, or at least should not be prepared so as to be put into execution whenever the effect of any great success of the Allies, or a frost, or an appearance of good disposition in the country, should afford a favourable opening for such an enterprise, the advantages of which in its impression and consequences I need not state to you. We have finally decided with a view to this chance, and for the sake of showing at any rate our readiness to co-operate, to send the 12,000 men which have been prepared to Embden; and if this wind continues, I hope they will sail within three days. Endeavour to make Prussia send under General Kalkreuth (or whoever may be the General they destine for that quarter), not merely 10,000 men, but enough to make such an army as can scarce be resisted. Our force with the Prussians (exclusive of the Swedes, and after allowing for something to watch Hameln) will be near 40,000.

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It surely cannot be difficult for Prussia to add 30,000 to that number within a very few weeks, on increased subsidies, beyond the number they now propose, and that without at all impairing the effort against Bonaparte's army.

As to your stay at Berlin, I can only say that if your health will permit, *everything that we value most* may depend on your remaining till you have seen the leading points of the negotiation fairly through. As to details with Saxony and Hesse, they cannot be worth your waiting for, if they require any time, which, however, supposing you once to settle with Prussia, they cannot. The important moment seems to be that when the issue of Haugwitz's negotiation shall have been known at Berlin, and time given to communicate with Austria and Russia on the result. Under these circumstances it will, I am afraid, hardly be as pléasant to you as it is to me to know that Parliament will not meet till the 21st of January, and that you have not on that account any reason for your immediate return. If, however (as I most earnestly hope will not be the case), you should really find the fatigue and anxiety too much for you, it is certainly among the *things that we value most* that you should return, having suffered as little as possible. A frigate will be sent to wait your orders at the Elbe, but I hope you will have no occasion to use it till after you have signed at least a provisional treaty, and seen the Prussians on their march against the enemy.

Ever most sincerely yours,

W. P.

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Mr. Pitt to Lord Harrowby.

DEAR HARROWBY, Bath, Dec. 21, 1805.

I was prevented from writing a few lines as I intended by the messenger we sent from hence yesterday. We are sending orders for another to-day, to pass through Berlin in his way to the Emperor's head-quarters, to remind them of sending the ratification, which we have never yet received.

We have nothing very authentic from the armies later than your despatch of the 9th, by estafette; but there are accounts through Hamburg from Berlin of the 10th, corroborated by reports from various quarters, which lead us to hope that the sequel of the battle[1] at length terminated in great success on the part of Russia. If this proves true, I flatter myself your subsidiary treaty will have been soon brought to a prosperous issue, and you will be delivered from all your fatigue and anxiety. I am quite grieved to think how much you have suffered, though I trust your complaint is only temporary, and that a good battle and a good treaty will send you back to us in better health than you went.

I see no danger of your exceeding our limit in the amount of subsidy, as we looked if necessary to an actual annual payment of 3,000,000*l.*, and the number proposed in the treaty of 180,000 Prussians and 40,000 Allies will not require more than 2,750,000*l.*, which still leaves room for 25,000 men more if they are wanted and can be had.

[1] Of Austerlitz, Dec. 2, 1805.

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I have been here for ten days, and have already felt the effect of the waters in a pretty smart fit of the gout, from which I am just recovering, and of which I expect soon to perceive the benefit.

Ever yours,

W. PITT.

I need hardly tell you that every step you have taken has been exactly what we should have desired.

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MR. PITT AND HIS PRIVATE SECRETARIES.

William Dacres Adams, Esq. (Private Secretary of Mr. Pitt in his last administration), to Earl Stanhope.

[Extract.]

Sydenham, March 24, 1862.

. . . . . .

In thinking of him, I am too apt to dwell less upon the loftier qualities of his mind, and upon the great objects to which they were successfully directed, than upon the milder virtues of his delightful disposition and his unvarying kindness of heart; which so much endeared him to all those who knew him well, and inspired them with the warmest feelings of attachment.

When he left London for the last time, he gave me leave to go for ten days or a fortnight into Devonshire; and on my way back I joined him at Bath, and dined with him there on the very day that he received the fatal news of the battle of Austerlitz. Charles Stanhope was there, and Sir Walter Farquhar, and unless my memory fails me, I think that also Lord Castlereagh came down to talk over the consequences of that calamitous event; and, depressed as Mr. Pitt was by his severe and mortal illness, and the overthrow of all

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his hopes and labours for the rescue of Europe, I was struck by the wonderful fortitude with which he bore such a mental and bodily pull upon his nearly exhausted powers.

Earl Stanhope to W. D. Adams, Esq.

[Extract.]

Grosvenor Place, March 25, 1862.

. . . . . .

You are certainly quite correct in your recollection that Lord Castlereagh joined Mr. Pitt at Bath, to confer with him on the Austerlitz news. Thus says Lord Malmesbury:—"A few days afterwards, I believe about the end of December, Lord Castlereagh went to Bath to communicate to him (Pitt) the event, and to confirm all the French reports." You will find this passage at vol. iv. p. 344 of Lord Malmesbury's 'Diaries.'

Mr. W. D. Adams died on the 8th of June, 1862. His last letter to me bore date the 15th of May; and, as his son informs me, was the last letter that he ever wrote. "I am, as I believe"—so he had written to me in April, 1861—"the only man still in the land of the living, whose happy fortune it was to be admitted to a daily personal intercourse with Mr. Pitt." Under such circumstances his decease, even though in the fulness of years and after a well-spent life, is mournfully felt to sever the last link of familiar connexion between Mr. Pitt and the present times.

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In the same letter of April, 1861, Mr. Adams went on to say of Mr. Pitt: "he was surely a man whom it was quite impossible to know without loving him. During his last administration—forsaken by old friends, which he bitterly felt; with declining health, and almost the whole weight of the Government on his own shoulders—so delightful was his temper, that with all my shortcomings no harsh word or look ever escaped him, but all towards me was kindness and indulgence."

As a proof of this constant kindness, Mr. Adams related to me in conversation one of his reminiscences, as follows:—There had fallen vacant an office for life—a Commissionership of Lotteries, with very light duties, and with a salary, I think, of 300*l.* a year. It became, of course, an object of eager competition. Letters to ask for it poured in. Mr. Pitt desired Mr. Adams, as his private secretary, to take care of and to classify all those letters, and to bring them to him for his decision on an appointed day. When the time came, Mr. Adams brought them accordingly. "All these gentlemen must be answered in the negative," said Mr. Pitt. "I do not design the office for any one of them. I have another person in view; and that person is yourself!" Mr. Adams added, that though of course greatly pleased at receiving this post for life, he felt the value of the gift inexpressibly enhanced by the cordial manner and the kindly surprise.

Since the decease of Mr. Adams, his son has further communicated to me a letter written by him on the day after the decease of Mr. Pitt. It is addressed to his brother-in-law, Mr. Thomas Peregrine Courtenay,

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then private secretary of the Right Hon. Charles Long, in Ireland. This I shall now insert, prefixing, however, two letters which Mr. Pitt wrote from Bath in the same month to his physician in London, and which I received in July, 1862, through the kindness of the present Sir Walter Farquhar. The intermediate note, which I also add, is derived from the Pitt Papers.

Mr. Pitt to Sir Walter Farquhar.

My dear Sir, Bath, January 1, 1806.

I have been rather gaining ground since I wrote to you last; but it has been so slowly that I cannot feel comfortable at finding myself within less than three weeks of the meeting of Parliament without being more advanced. My strength is as yet very little improved, and my appetite not at all. It is indeed only for these last five days that I have begun again on the waters, and at first so sparingly that they would scarce produce any effect. For these last two days I have taken two middle-sized glasses, which certainly seem to agree very well, though I have not felt any positive benefit, except in my sleep being better than it has been. I do not know whether I am to place to their account some gouty sensations in the bottom of the left foot, which, without being yet anything very decided, are sufficient to make me rather lame. Mr. Crook seems apprehensive of more gout; but if it is in the habit, I cannot but think the sooner it is brought out the better. On the

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whole, if I had six weeks to spare, I should have no doubt of returning to town stout enough; but, as it is, I am afraid that, unless exactly the best use is made of the short interval to the 21st, I shall hardly be equal to the labours which are then to begin; and I have therefore thought it best to trouble you with these particulars for your further directions.

Yours very sincerely,

W. PITT.

Sir Walter Farquhar to Mr. Pitt.

MY DEAR SIR, Downing Street, Wednesday, near 6 (Jan. 1, 1806).

I write from Lady Hester's room, who is full of anxiety about you. I have seen Lord Castlereagh, who gives a very favourable account of you; still I don't like the restless nights, which retard recovery. From this moment I shall hold myself ready to fly to you. Only issue your orders. Nay, only say that you would not dislike it. Change the air—I mean your house—and go out every day. Send for a bottle of Paregoric Elixir, and be your own Doctor. Take a tea-spoonful at bed-time in a little white wine whey, and repeat the same, if you should not sleep, in two or three hours. I have given you this a hundred times. No bad effects can arise from it. . . .

I shall be quite miserable till I hear from you, if only two lines.

Your most faithful Servant,

W. FARQUHAR.

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Mr. Pitt to Sir Walter Farquhar.

My dear Sir, Bath, January 2, 1806.

Many thanks for your letter which I received this morning. Mine of yesterday will have in great measure replied to it.

I can only add that, as far as I find any change to-day, it is for the better. My sleep has begun to improve without aid; but I cannot deny that it will be a great satisfaction to me to see you, if you can come without too much inconvenience to yourself, and without creating an alarm among my friends.

Yours very sincerely,

W. P.

The symptoms of fresh gout are on the decline.

W. D. Adams, Esq., to T. P. Courtenay, Esq.

Dear Courtenay, Downing Street, Friday, 24th January, 1806.

I wished to have told you something of the manner of Mr. Pitt's death, but really I was not equal to it yesterday. I can hardly yet bring myself to believe that it is true, though everything in this wretched, melancholy house but too surely impresses it upon my mind. He received the tidings of the approaching event with that firmness which was natural to him, and

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passed an hour with the Bishop of Lincoln in prayer, and in such directions about his worldly affairs as he thought necessary. He wished to have committed these to writing, but his strength was not sufficient. He therefore dictated what he had to say to the Bishop, and signed the paper. His solicitude seemed to be, to have procured a provision for the Stanhopes and for the payment of his own debts—both of which, I should suppose, for the credit of Parliament and of the country, would be immediately done.

After this exertion, which was Wednesday morning, I do not find that he knew anything, except at little intervals, in one of which he saw Lady Hester Stanhope, blessed her, and took his last leave of her. All the rest was incoherence. He talked a great deal about the affairs in Germany—asked why they did not fight?—said he would despatch a messenger—inquired which way the wind was, for him to sail. Sometimes he mentioned Lady Hester — called her a good soul. "I know she loves me." Then he would begin to pray—which perhaps was during a momentary return of reason—and then he would fancy himself in the House of Commons, and cry, "Hear, hear, hear!"—and once he said, "I am better—I shall not die yet."

But I will not proceed farther with this dreadful recital. The delirium, I suppose, proceeded from the excess of fever, for his pulse latterly was too quick to be counted. About an hour before his death he seemed to be in a sleep, from which he never woke again; and they only knew that it was over by his having ceased to breathe.

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I have hardly begun to contemplate the probable consequences of this most sad calamity, or the private and public evils which it must produce. We shall feel them by-and-bye. At present my mind is wholly occupied with a grief that I never felt before, and an anguish that is inexpressible.

It is not the loss of his vast talents and unexampled public services which affects me now—though they will be "embalmed in the recollection of a grateful posterity"—but the remembrance of his unnumbered kindnesses—of that goodness and gentleness of heart and manner, and of that purity of mind, which I never saw equalled in man.

To my last hour, the time I spent with him at Bath will be a source of infinite gratification to me. I dined with him the very last time he ever sat at table. Those precious, precious days will be fixed in my memory to my life's end.

Yours always affectionately,

W. D. ADAMS.

M. Boyd, Esq., to Earl Stanhope.

[Extract.]

Sandhurst Lodge, Regent's Park,
May 17, 1862.

. . . . . .

There was a circumstance told me by the late Mr. Christmas, who for many years held an important

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official situation in the Bank of England. He was, I believe, in early life a clerk in the Treasury, or one of the Government offices, and for some time acted for Mr. Pitt as his confidential clerk, or temporary private secretary.

Christmas was one of the most obliging men I ever knew; and, from the position he occupied, was constantly exposed to interruptions, yet I never saw his temper the least ruffled. One day I found him more than usually engaged, having a mass of accounts to prepare for one of the Law Courts: still the same equanimity; and I could not resist the opportunity of asking the old gentleman to give me the secret. "Well, Mr. Boyd, you shall know it. Mr. Pitt gave it to me:—Not to lose my temper, if possible, at any time, and NEVER during the hours of business. My labours here [Bank of England] commence at nine, and end at three; and, acting on the advice of the illustrious statesman, I never lose my temper during these hours."

He also related to me an instance which came under his own observation of Mr. Pitt's extraordinary powers of mental and physical endurance.

Mr. Pitt had been immersed all day with Christmas in intricate accounts (I assume, preparing for the conflict of a War Budget), when, looking at the hour, he said, "I must now go to the House, but shall return as early as I can, although I fear we shall have a late sitting." It proved so, as he did not rejoin his private secretary until six in the morning. He had something kind to say to Christmas for keeping at his work, adding, "I must now have a wash," and, going to the

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end of the room, threw off his coat and neckcloth, and applied a wet towel to his head and face. When this improvised ablution was over, he declared to his *fidus Achates* that he was quite fresh and ready for business, and for four hours he was hard at work, in going through the accounts Mr. Christmas had prepared during the night.

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MR. PITT AND THE CUSTOMS DUTIES.

Right Hon. Sir G. C. Lewis to Earl Stanhope.

[Extract.]

April 2, 1862.

Lord Grenville told my father that Pitt had formed a plan for abolishing all Customs Duties, and that he would have carried it into effect, if the war of the French Revolution had not broken out, which defeated all his financial and commercial schemes. Lord Grenville said that the amount of the public expenditure at that time rendered such a plan quite feasible.

Note on Sir G. C. Lewis's Letter.

I am not enabled positively either to confirm or to gainsay the recollection, as here recorded, of Lord Grenville, since I have not found among the Pitt Papers any that bear on this design. But the great speech of Mr. Pitt upon the Budget, of February 17, 1792, a speech revised by himself and delivered only a few months before the war with France, while it announces a present surplus of no less than 919,000*l.* upon a revenue of 16,730,000*l.* (or an average surplus

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of 400,000*l.* upon the last four years), unfolds the plan of applying that and every succeeding surplus in equal proportions to the diminution of taxes and to the reduction of debt.

Of the Customs Duties as they then existed Mr. Pitt made this significant remark:—

"Many of the articles under the head of Customs in which the augmentation is most apparent consist of raw materials, the increasing importation of which is at once a symptom and a cause of the increasing wealth of the country."

Another passage of that speech which I will here transcribe may serve to show how immense was the importance attached by Mr. Pitt to "that constant accumulation of capital" which the remission of the duties on raw material would be so much calculated to promote, and how large were his ideas of progress, not for England only, but for mankind.

Mr. Pitt said:—

"The great mass of the property of the nation is thus constantly increasing at compound interest; the progress of which in any considerable period is what at first view would appear incredible. Great as have been the effects of this cause already, they must be greater in future, for its powers are augmented in proportion as they are exerted. It acts with a velocity continually accelerated, with a force continually increased.

Mobilitate viget, viresque acquirit eundo.

. . . . . If we look to a period like the present, of con-

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tinued tranquillity, the difficulty will be to imagine limits to its operation. None can be found while there exists at home any one object of skill or industry short of its utmost possible perfection—one spot of ground in the country capable of higher cultivation and improvement; or while there remains abroad any new market that can be explored, or any existing market that can be extended. From the intercourse of commerce it will in some measure participate in the growth of other nations in all the possible varieties of their situations. The rude wants of countries emerging from barbarism, and the artificial and increasing demands of luxury and refinement, will equally open new sources of treasure and new fields of exertion in every state of society and in the remotest quarters of the globe. It is this principle which I believe, according to the uniform result of history and experience, maintains on the whole, in spite of the vicissitudes of fortune and the disasters of empires, a continued course of successive improvement in the general order of the world."

. . . .

Note to the Second Edition.

In April, 1863, Mr. J. R. Mac Culloch brought out in a revised form his "Treatise on Taxation and the Funding System;" and in a passage at page 238 he took occasion to show the great improbability of the plan ascribed to Mr. Pitt for abolishing the Customs Duties. I must acknowledge myself convinced by his arguments. I believe that Lord Grenville, in speaking to Sir T. F. Lewis, either expressed himself inaccurately, or was misunderstood—that he meant to say "most" or "nearly all" the Customs Duties, but not "all."

S.

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MR. BURKE ON HIS PARTY CONNEXIONS.

1782.

THE original of this letter was purchased by me at a sale of MSS. in March, 1852. It is in Mr. Burke's writing, but has no address. So far as I know, this is the only letter of the time in which he adverts (and how full of dignity his tone in doing so!) to his own most unjust exclusion from the Cabinet.

S.

SIR,

Charles Street,
March 25, 1782.

I am this moment honoured with your letter, in which I find nothing to dislike but the pains you have taken and the variety of arguments you have used to prevail upon me to be serviceable to you. I am certainly much inclined to be so. The difficulty lies in showing me that I have the power of doing what I assure you is so very agreeable to my wishes and to my sense of your merit.

You have been misinformed. I make no part of the Ministerial arrangement. Something in the official line may possibly be thought fit for my measure. But what exactly it is, I do not yet know. At a moment like this (whatever I may be able to effect hereafter through

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friends in power) I certainly can do nothing whatsoever for you; and this plain declaration is next to doing you service.

You will easily conceive that a person at my time of life, and who has, during seventeen years' opposition, contracted many political and many personal friendships, and been much obliged by various people in various ways, without the possibility of making them the least return, must have claims upon me for a great deal more interest than I have or possibly can have as long as I live. The coming of a vast number of new people, under the very same circumstances, makes this time not over favourable to those who have not claims of an old date. This, Sir, I say, that you may have some little sense of the difficulties I must lie under in an attempt to serve you at this time, even if I were to be in a situation of power and patronage, which will not be the case.

However, though I dare not flatter you with any the least hope, I shall be much pleased with the favour of seeing you at any morning between nine and ten, when the present hurry is a little over, and of becoming acquainted with you. I shall inquire very little concerning talents, of which I see strong proofs in your letters, or of a character which every thing inclines me to think favourably of. I really wish, when circumstances shall permit, to do my little to help you forward, as I am, with real esteem and regard,

Sir,

Your most obedient and obliged humble Servant,

EDM. BURKE.

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MR. BURKE ON HIS PUBLIC SERVICES.

1794.

FROM the original in Mr. Burke's writing, as preserved among the Pitt MSS. This is the paper which I showed Lord Macaulay in 1858, and of which in his reply to me he said, "It is interesting, and very characteristic." See the Life of Pitt, vol. i. p. 161.

S.

Memorandum by the Right Hon. E. Burke.

1794.

MR. BURKE understands that Mr. Pitt is so obliging as to think that his humble industry in his thirty years' service may without impropriety be recommended to His Majesty's gracious consideration.

Mr. Burke has never asked for anything, nor suggested any reward. It never did become him, nor does it now become him, to suppose that he has any merit to entitle him to the particular favour of the Crown or of the public. He is sensible that he has done nothing beyond his strict duty.

But if he is permitted to compare his endeavours and rewards, not with the standard of his duty, but with

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contemporary examples, he would submit the following matters to judges more impartial than he can be in his own case.

In the year 1782 Lord Rockingham was Minister. Mr. Burke's connexions with that noble person were of the closest kind. About that time, or a little before, Mr. Burke was deeply concerned in a great variety of affairs, and was supposed to be of some use, both in producing good and in averting evil. At that period this was pretty generally acknowledged by all parties. Mr. Burke believes it to be in the memory of many that a surprise was expressed that a provision for him had not been recommended by his particular friends and oldest connexions, when so much was done by them for absolute strangers.

The fact is, that for the general accommodation in forming what was called an administration upon a broad bottom, Mr. Burke did cheerfully postpone every pretension of his, whether grounded on connexion or service. He privately forwarded, and he publicly defended, a permanent provision for Colonel Barré and Mr. Dunning. Besides Colonel Barré's office in possession (as good as Mr. Burke's), that gentleman obtained a pension of 3000*l.* a-year. Mr. Dunning obtained a peerage with the Duchy for life, made up by a pension to 4000*l.* a-year, although he was possessed of a very ample fortune.

Mr. Burke never did solicit the Pay Office. It was offered to him. He held it in all about a year, under two administrations. It is the only place he ever held. During the time he held it, amongst the multiplicity of

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his other occupations, he employed himself with pains, not easily described, to form a new constitution for that office, and to carry a Bill for that purpose through the House of Commons. He flatters himself that, in that Bill, useful regulations were made; and savings of some importance with regard to public money ensued in consequence of them.

Mr. Burke certainly does not mean to compare his abilities with those of the two gentlemen he alludes to. It is allowed to a man to speak of his industry. As for real labour in mind and body, he had even then—that is, so long ago as 1782—worked more in any three months than they had done in their whole lives. Lord Ashburton's professional industry is put out of the question; it was private; it had no relation to the State, and that kind of toil (whatever its value may be) rewards itself very sufficiently.

The arrangement for these two gentlemen was made twelve years ago. During the twelve, Mr. Burke's exertions have continued—in what way, or with what merit in any of the particulars, it is not for him to judge. It is certain that, notwithstanding his very advanced age, his industry has not been relaxed in any course in which such small abilities as his could possibly employ it. During that period his circumstances have not been improved. Many expenses, more easily felt than calculated, are necessarily attendant on such exertions as his. A total neglect of a man's private affairs is likewise the inevitable consequence of occupations that engross the whole man. Mr. Barré came into Parliament in 1763, and had his settlement in 1782.

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Mr. Dunning came into Parliament later than Mr. Burke, and had his at the same time with Mr. Barré. Mr. Burke came in at the end of 1765—near thirty years ago. Many since then have been raised to honours and emoluments, whose labours have not been greater.

Lord Auckland is another instance. His figure in Parliament was never considerable. It may not be perfectly good policy to consider no services as of any high estimation except those done in office. Perhaps the most essential are those done in the House of Commons; and rank there (though not a thing to be exactly defined) ought to stand as high as rank that is official. It is not meant in the least to depreciate Lord Auckland's talents or services. Both are respectable. The services, however, received some part of their recompense as they were performed. Almost ever since he came into Parliament he has been in lucrative situations. He has something in present possession not contemptible. He has something secured. He has a peerage: and all this in the prime and vigour of his life. Mr. Burke does not conceive that whatever His Majesty may be graciously pleased to do for Mr. Burke in the present temper of the public mind would be more unpopular or ill received in the nation than what has been done for any of these gentlemen.

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MR. WINDHAM ON THE MARTELLO TOWERS.

1803.

MR. WINDHAM, in his speech of December 9, 1803, observes of the Martello towers that they were so called from a place of that name in Corsica; and I have quoted that sentence from him in my 'Life of Pitt.'

Since my own publication, however, there has been suggested to me, by a very high authority upon all such subjects, a derivation far more probable than Mr. Windham's, and certainly, as I conceive, the right one.

S.

Right Hon. Sir George C. Lewis to Earl Stanhope.

[Extract.]

April 2, 1862.

The origin of Martello towers I believe to have been that when piracy was common in the Mediterranean, and pirates like the Danes made plundering descents upon the coasts, the Italians built towers near the sea in order to keep watch and give warning if a pirate ship was seen to approach the land. This warning was given by striking on a bell with a hammer; and hence these towers were called *Torri da Martello.*

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The same to the same.

May 7, 1862.

I think that I have discovered, with the assistance of a friend, the origin of Windham's statement respecting Martello towers. An attack was made on the tower of Mortella, in Corsica, by the British forces both by sea and land, in February, 1794. The tower was taken after an obstinate defence, but the two attacking ships were beaten off. This circumstance is likely to have given rise to the confusion between Martello towers generally and this tower of Mortella.

See James's 'Naval History of Great Britain,' vol. i., p. 286, ed. 1822, where the event is described.

Note.

Since the date of Sir G. C. Lewis's letters, that is, during the summer of 1862, I chanced to be reading in Ariosto, and met with two lines which entirely bear out Sir George's explanation. They occur in the 'Orlando,' canto x., stanza 51:—

> "E la campana martellando tocca
> Onde il soccorso vien subito al porto."

Thus, again, in canto xiv., stanza 100,—

> "Le campane si sentono a martello
> Di spessi colpi e spaventosi tocche."

S.

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SIR JOHN MOORE IN SPAIN.

1808.

Sir John Moore to Lady Hester Stanhope.

Salamanca, November 23, 1808.

I have very little time to write; but I cannot help writing to you, in answer to your very kind letter of the 26th October, which reached me a few days ago.

You will perhaps think me very saucy for doubting your information on such a point, but I, however, do doubt that Ministers at this moment mean to throw blame of any kind upon me. They have thrust me, from their want of information, into a most critical situation here, and I believe they will make no attack upon me until they see how I extricate myself. But at any rate, I should take no steps in my defence until I saw the attack begun, and then my defence will be their and my correspondence. I should lay that before the public. My letters contain a plain narrative of all that passed, with my reasons for every step I took. I should publish that without comment, and leave every one to draw his own conclusion. If ever I have the pleasure of seeing you again, and you have a curiosity

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to see them, I shall give you all the papers. They are in England. It would be impossible, if I wished it, for me to recollect particulars sufficient for a memorial at this distance of time. Believe me that I never stood on stronger ground than in the whole business of Sweden, and of this I believe Ministers are sufficiently convinced to let me alone upon it. I made my escape after mature deliberation: personally I was little concerned, as I had no apprehension of anything disagreeable happening to myself; but I thought by escaping I should relieve Government from an unpleasant dilemma, as they could not well help demanding the release of an officer sent by them to command their troops. Had Mr. Pitt been Minister, I should have remained, knowing that he would have sent a squadron to Stockholm to demand me, and to demand satisfaction for the insult offered, in my person, to the country; but I had no such confidence in the new administration, and knowing they had not spirit to act as they should do, in civility to them I made my escape. There was no dignity in my staying or going, but by escaping I gratified a feeling, by showing a contempt of the authority which had attempted to detain me. You must not be angry with me for not following your advice: I am not the less sensible of the kindness which dictated it: but I am an odd, obstinate fellow, who in things which regard myself alone am apt to follow my own opinion. I must, however, tell you that I am upon the best terms with those you say mean to attack me; nothing can exceed their politeness and consideration.

I received some time ago your letter of the 24th

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October. I shall be very glad to receive James,[1] if he wishes to come to me as an extra aide-de-camp, though I have already too many, and am obliged, or shall be, to take a young Fitzclarence. But I have a sincere regard for James, and, besides, can refuse you nothing, but to follow your advice. He must get the Commander-in-Chief's leave to come to Spain. He may then join me. He will, however, come too late; I shall already be beaten. I am within four marches of the French, with only a third of my force; and as the Spaniards have been dispersed in all quarters, my junction with the other two-thirds is very precarious; and when we all join, we shall be very inferior to the enemy. The Spanish Government is weak and imbecile; their armies have at no time been numerous; and the country is not armed, nor, as far as I can judge, enthusiastic. We have been completely deceived by the contemptible fellows chosen as correspondents to the armies; and now the discovery comes a little too late. Charles is not yet arrived; his was one of the best regiments that left Lisbon, and was not intended to join us, if I in compassion to his melancholy countenance had not found a pretext. We are in a scrape; but I hope we shall have spirit to get out of it. You must, however, be prepared to hear very bad news.

The troops are in as good spirits as if things were better; their appearance and good conduct surprise the green Spaniards, who had never before seen any but their own or French soldiers.

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[1] Her brother, the Hon. James Stanhope.

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"Farewell, my dear Lady Hester: if I extricate myself and those with me from our present difficulties, and if I can beat the French, I shall return to you with satisfaction; but if not, it will be better that I should never quit Spain.

I remain always

Very faithfully and sincerely yours,

JOHN MOORE.

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THE SIEGE OF ZARAGOZA.

1808.

THE account of the first siege of Zaragoza, as given by General Napier in his 'History of the Peninsular War,' very considerably differed from that of Sir Charles Vaughan, as published in 1809; above all, as regards the character which General Napier imputed to the Spanish chiefs. It was alleged, however, and even in print, that Sir Charles had subsequently, and on further investigation, seen cause to recede from his original ground. Feeling, as I did, great interest in all the circumstances connected with that memorable siege, I addressed an inquiry upon the subject to Sir Charles, whose answer was as follows.

S.

Right Hon. Sir Charles R. Vaughan to Lord Mahon.

20, Bolton Street,
28th January, 1838.

DEAR LORD MAHON,

An absence of six weeks from London, and forgetfulness too, have caused my neglect to send you a copy of my account of the siege of Zaragoza (to adopt the

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Spanish way of writing it), which I published in 1809. I now beg your Lordship's acceptance of a copy; and I assure you that I never had any reason, as it has been asserted, to distrust the statements which it contains, and which I collected, when at Zaragoza, soon after the place was abandoned by the French, from the Spanish officers and people who had been engaged in its defence. General Lefèvre, who first commanded the French, was a prisoner on parole at Cheltenham in 1809; and I went there expressly to see him, when he told me that he had read my pamphlet, and that it was a candid and correct account of what had passed. He was anxious only to convince me that the French had not lost ground in the town after their first entrance, and that they had retreated, and were not driven from it. I learned from him that he advanced against the place at first with 3000 men only, but that when General Verdier joined him the French force amounted to 15,000 men; that they lost during the whole siege 4000 men; and that himself and two other French Generals were wounded.

I am, &c., &c.,

CHAS. R. VAUGHAN.

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ENGLAND AND THE TYROL.

1809.

THE original of this touching and beautiful letter is preserved in the *Ferdinandeum* of Innspruck, the *Curator* of which gave a copy to my father in 1847.

S.

Earl Bathurst to the Tyrolese Deputies.

Foreign Office,
November 11, 1809.

GENTLEMEN,

I have submitted your Memorial to the King, and I am commanded by His Majesty to assure you of the lively interest which he takes in the fate of a free and loyal people who have, for two centuries together, remained unshaken in their attachment to their Sovereign. He has learned with the deepest regret that they have been again severed by the Peace of Schönbrunn from the protection of the House of Austria, and under circumstances which, it is to be apprehended, will render further resistance vain.

When submission is in effect more hazardous than resistance, or when the dangers attending on each are

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nearly balanced, a brave nation may be encouraged justifiably to prefer the latter alternative; but when by resistance the sufferings of those engaged in it must be grievous, and the hopes of its success cannot possibly be great, it is not for those who are not to participate in the danger to counsel others to incur it.

Under circumstances so unpromising, His Majesty cannot take upon himself to urge the people of the Tyrol and of the Voralberg to continue their resistance against an invasion by the combined armies of Bavaria and France.

If, however, the remembrance of past happiness, the sense of recent wrongs, the expectation of renewed oppression, the character of the country, the habits and spirit of the people, shall decide them to persist, His Majesty cannot but give some testimony of the interest which he takes in the issue of a contest too unequal, he fears, to be availing, but which he knows to be just.

He has therefore directed that arrangements should be made to afford such pecuniary aid as the difficulty of remitting money to a country so insulated will allow, and as the circumstances of the case may from time to time require.

I am commanded by His Majesty to give you distinctly to understand, that in making this advance, the people of the Tyrol and of the Voralberg are not to consider it as intended by His Majesty either to create any obligation, or to afford any inducement to continue resistance an hour longer than they would otherwise be inclined to do if no such supplies were offered.

It is not by pecuniary aid from without, that a con-

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test of this description either ought to be encouraged or can be upheld; and His Majesty would not think himself justified in granting any such supply but under the full persuasion that there existed within the country an unquenched spirit, from the undiminished continuance of which any hope of success, if any shall exist, can alone under Heaven be derived.

I am, with great truth and regard, &c.,

BATHURST.

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SIR ROBERT PEEL ON THE HOUSE OF LORDS.

1832.

Earl of Harrowby to the Right Hon. Sir Robert Peel.

Grosvenor Square,
February 4, 1832.

DEAR SIR R. PEEL,

I am induced by our conversation of yesterday to take the liberty of sending you for your perusal a copy of a letter which I wrote some days ago to a Noble Friend. No line of conduct can, as we now stand, be free from great difficulties and objections; but in this, and in this alone, I see a chance of comparative safety. In the moment of success last Session,[1] I thought and said to some of those who congratulated me, "We have acted right now. This will do for once, but will not bear repetition." If this be not done, if the Bill be not read a second time and amended, where are we? By what other means can we ward off destruction even for a time?

Believe me, &c.,

HARROWBY.

[1] The rejection of the Reform Bill by the House of Lords, October 7, 1831.

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[ENCLOSURE.]

This letter is not preserved among the Peel Manuscripts, but since my first edition a copy has been communicated to me through the kindness of Charles C. Greville, Esq. It appears from the endorsement, in pencil, to be addressed to Earl Talbot, and not to Lord Wharncliffe as I had supposed.

S.

Earl of Harrowby to Earl Talbot.

. . . . . .

. . . . . .

After our various conversations upon the Reform question, you may perhaps expect to receive a few lines from me upon the present state of it. We both agreed, when we last talked it over, that we were quite at liberty to take the line which at the time we might think best. The question now presses for decision as to what that line ought to be; and I should not answer the confidence with which you have honoured me if I did not state the bearings of my own mind, and as shortly as I am able the ground of my present opinion.

The new facts of the case since I came to town appear to be these—the increased majority of the House of Commons in favour of the Bill, and what I cannot know, but what I believe on sufficient grounds to actuate my own conduct, the *carte blanche* given to the Ministers

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by the King for the creation of Peers in order to secure the Second Reading of the Bill at whatever period they judge it necessary. Now if this be so, we are indeed reduced (as in fact we have been ever since the Bill was brought in) to a mere choice between evils. If Ministers are convinced that the Second Reading will be rejected, they will previously create Peers enough to carry it. What is the consequence? The Bill is carried without any amendment, and the House of Lords is swamped for ever. The Ministers also become absolute masters of the House upon all future questions. If the Government instead of previously creating Peers wait till they are beat upon the Second Reading, in order to have a little more semblance of justification, they have then nothing to do but to prorogue Parliament for a week, make their Peers, and then consummate the work of destruction.

How can these, the greatest of all evils, be in any degree avoided? Not certainly without incurring considerable evils, but such as appear to me to be far less than those I have stated. If the Ministers can be assured beforehand that a creation of Peers will not be necessary to ensure the Second Reading of the Bill, they are deprived of all excuse for swamping the House of Lords; and knowing the reluctance of many of the Cabinet to this measure, and the high disapprobation of some of their followers (the story of the Duke of Portland and his forty Peers is, by-the-bye, utterly false), I think it quite impossible that they should dare to do it. This evil is therefore avoided. A separation for the time of one portion of the 199 from another is un-

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avoidable, but their reunion for the purpose of amending the Bill would give a certainty of success, not in attempting to preserve what is no longer preservable—the Boroughs in Schedule A; nor in excluding (which is not in my opinion advisable) all Schedules C and D, but in striking out the most objectionable parts in the latter Schedules; in securing a better qualification than that of the 10*l.* householders as it now stands in the Bill; and in making such other amendments in various parts of the Bill, as, though far from depriving it of all its venom, would at least mitigate its noxious qualities.

The entire avoidance of one great evil, and the diminution of another, appear to me to be within our reach by this line of conduct, namely—the not resisting the Second Reading of the Bill, and by no other. The general tone of the moderate on both sides of the House of Commons is, that amendments which the supporters of Government dare not do otherwise than reject when proposed *there*, would be readily admitted when sent down from the Lords, in order to put an end (for the time at least) to this dreadful question, which by keeping the whole country in a state of suspense and agitation paralyses all its faculties.

What else can be done? If we reject the Bill, and Ministers do not resign (which I am satisfied they would not), I have before stated the consequence: if they do, what is to happen? Is it possible to form any Government which could stand for a week with the present House of Commons? and is there the least hope that a Dissolution would materially mend the matter?

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To go on without some Reform Bill is evidently impossible. Neither the Duke nor Sir Robert Peel will make himself responsible for any such Bill;—can they or either of them be Ministers on any other terms? and if not, who is there? The Reform Bill once passed in a mitigated shape, the door is opened to them and to a more conservative Government; for excepting as the instruments of Reform, I do not see what hold the present Ministers have upon the affections or esteem of the country. I can look at nothing now with a party view; but were I a party man, I should feel the weight of this consideration.

In taking the line of not opposing, or even voting for, the Second Reading, I act, as I conceive, upon the very principles which decided me, after much hesitation, to a different line in the last Session. I then stated that our great object was to afford the country time for reconsideration. How has that time been employed? All the public meetings have been as decided as ever for a very extensive reform; but have, as I conceive, shown less bigotry in favour of "the Bill, the whole Bill, and nothing but the Bill." All hole-and-corner addresses and petitions (an authority to which I look with much more respect) have concurred with different shades in admitting the necessity of reform. The first fact gives the hope that *less* than the whole Bill would satisfy the least irrational portion of the first bodies; and the second fact, that the latter bodies would be satisfied if by yielding some points we can preserve others. How can these opinions be carried into effect except by going into the Committee?

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It has been said, "Reject this Bill, and propose another." Who is to do this? Not the leaders who abjure such an idea. Who else will take upon himself the responsibility of originating a new system? The Government have indeed proposed a new system, and by a mixture of party-feeling within, and intimidation from without, have prevented their supporters from following their own crotchets, and have compelled them to vote in the House for a measure as a whole, of many of whose parts they openly express their disapprobation out of it. As their supposed successors decline the task, what shadow of hope could there be that any other individual could reconcile jarring opinions in favour of any Bill proposed from our side of either House, and opposed as it certainly would be by the *then* late Government? This idea, which has weight with some people, and at first caught me, appears to me now quite visionary; for every man has his own Bill: and the only use of proclaiming any one of them might be to prove to the public that the proposer was himself in earnest, and perhaps to call forth from others a declaration in favour of *some* reform, though probably not that of the proposer.

On the other hand, if a sufficient number can agree upon the amendments to be proposed (a point upon which agreement is much easier than on the construction of a whole new Bill), we the Conservatives shall remain within our own sphere, and may regain the confidence of a large portion of the community. If we take the line of resisting *à toute outrance*, knowing that our resistance cannot be effectual, the consequence will

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be that, the place being taken by storm, it will also be given up to pillage; and at the next election the Conservatives will be swept from the face of the earth. If, on the other hand, the contest end by what will be a sort of compromise (for though we can now beat the Government in the House of Lords, they can beat us in the House of Commons), there is some hope of a return of tolerable good humour, and of the old influences regaining a part at least of what they have now lost.

I had promised to be short: but long as I have been, I have said but a portion of what occurs to me; and I should have said much less, if I had not been anxious you should not misunderstand the grounds on which I act. I heartily wish they may appear as strong to you as they do to me, after much anxious and hesitating thought.

HARROWBY.

Sir Robert Peel to the Earl of Harrowby.

DEAR LORD HARROWBY, Whitehall, Feb. 5, 1832.

I am much obliged by the communication of the enclosed letter.

No one can feel more strongly than I do the absurdity of the doctrine that because a certain course was taken one Session, it must necessarily be taken the next with reference to the same measure. You might as well say that you shall always navigate the same water

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with the helm set the same way, without regard to the state of the tide or the shifting of the wind. The question you discuss is one of extreme difficulty. Questions of a similar nature must frequently recur in politics, but rarely under circumstances so peculiar—rarely when so many considerations have to be weighed, and when the hazard of a false step,—I fear, indeed, of any step, is so great.

I assume with you that the Ministers have the power of carrying the Bill, or to speak more correctly, have the power of making any number of Peers which they may deem sufficient to carry the Bill. Shall the necessity of a fresh creation for such an object be averted by acquiescence on the part of the present House of Lords in the Second Reading of the Bill?

If the Bill were the whole question, and if, the Bill being passed, I could blot out the memory of all that had preceded and all that had accompanied its passing, I should perhaps answer that question in the affirmative. The whole question being *res integra*, and the passing of the Bill being assumed to be inevitable, I would rather see a graceful concession to necessity by the present House of Peers, than that recourse should be had to a proceeding unconstitutional in its origin, and in its consequences full of permanent irremediable evil.

But can the House of Peers *now* make a graceful concession? Public impression—the impression of the vulgar, that is, of the vast mass of mankind, of the highest as well as the lowest station, cannot be disregarded in politics; and will not that public and that vulgar argue, "The House of Lords has yielded not

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from conviction—not from some overpowering necessity; but so far as we can judge, from the menace of a fresh creation"? I assure you that my great object in public life for the last six months has been to vindicate the authority and maintain the character of the House of Lords. I think *that* is the institution most exposed to danger from the shortsighted folly of the times; and also the institution which, if it remain erect in character, is most likely to serve as a rallying point for the returning good sense and moderation of the country.

Now I doubt whether the House of Lords will not lose more of character and authority by yielding against its conviction on the Second Reading of the Bill of Reform, than by compelling the Government to resort to a *coup d'état*, and to carry the Bill by a fresh creation. I admit it is a very disputable question, and that very powerful arguments may be adduced in support of the opposite conclusion.

The certainty of carrying the whole Bill, principle and details; the infusion of a popular and democratic spirit into the House of Lords; the cheapening of hereditary honours; the preponderance of a party, and that the worst party—half Whig and half Radical—are all evils the magnitude of which it would be vain to deny. But on the other hand I do not see much prospect of a successful struggle on details. The principle of the Bill having been admitted on the Second Reading, the first great outwork will have been carried. All the hopes and expectations of final success on the part of the assailants and of Reformers throughout the country will have been naturally and justifiably raised. The very

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constitution of the resisting force fits it much more for a pitched battle than for the desultory warfare of committee. The absent but powerful allies—the proxies, are there lost; and I own I despair of your being able to extort any *effectual* concessions in committee. I think the Bill will pass (the Second Reading having been carried) without important modifications. The gain will be that no new Peers are created, or rather that no valid pretence for creating new Peers is given. That is all; for Peers may be created for other objects, and probably soon will be.

The loss on the other hand will be this:—The Government will have effected its object by the menace of an unconstitutional act. They will have gained the prize without incurring the odium and disgust of the crime. They will have established a precedent for future Governments, more tempting, more easily followed, and therefore more dangerous, than would be the actual commission of a revolting act.

Why have we been struggling against the Reform Bill in the House of Commons? Not in the hope of resisting its final success in that House, but because we look beyond this Bill; because we know the nature of popular concessions, their tendency to propagate the necessity for further and more extensive compliances. We want to make the *Descensus* as *difficilis* as we can; to teach young inexperienced men charged with the trust of government, that though they may be backed by popular clamour, they shall not override on the first spring tide of excitement every barrier and breakwater raised against popular impulses; that the carrying of

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extensive changes in the Constitution without previous deliberation shall not be a holiday task; that there shall be just what has happened—the House sick of the question; the Ministers repenting they brought it forward; the country paying the penalty for the folly and incapacity of its rulers. All these are salutary sufferings that may, I trust, make people hereafter distinguish between the amendment and the overturning of their institutions. Suppose we had given way, that we had acquiesced in the Bill, and given no trouble to the Ministers, my firm belief is that the country, so far from being satiated with our concessions, would have lost all reverence and care for remaining institutions, and have had their appetite whetted for a farther feast at the expense of the Church or the Monarchy.

Now this is the principle on which, if I were a Peer, I should vote against the Second Reading of the Reform Bill. I would make the Ministers incur the odium of the act which they menace, and the responsibility which will attach to it at the bar of a future, and a better judging public. I would trust that the example set by this House of Lords would tell with effect, not immediately, but ultimately, even upon the new Peers, the instruments of its present degradation.

Mine is a melancholy view, as it excludes the prospect of success: it excludes, however, participation in the crime, and gives to the present House of Lords the honour of determined, though fruitless, resistance.

"Ne non procumbat honestè
Respicit; hæc etiam cura cadentis erat."[1]

[1] Ovid, Fastorum, lib. ii. v. 833.

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The commencement of a new sheet reminds me with shame of the length and the haste with which I have written to you.

Believe me, my dear Lord Harrowby,
Ever truly yours,
ROBERT PEEL.

I should have written probably with more reserve, if I did not consider myself a spectator of the fray; with no interest, personal or political, in its issue; no interest at least in *obstructing* a settlement of the Reform question, even if I had the slightest wish, which I have not, but directly the reverse, to resume official labours.

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SIR ROBERT PEEL ON SIR ROBERT WALPOLE.

1833.

Lord Mahon to the Right Hon. Sir Robert Peel.

Wycombe Abbey,
Dec. 14, 1833.

My dear Sir Robert,

In our conversation at Hatfield about Sir Robert Walpole I could not but observe how very accurately you had studied the life and character of that Minister. Being now closely engaged in writing a 'History of England during the Reign of George the First,' I have had of course to draw a character of Walpole, and I should take it as a particular kindness if you would do me the favour of looking at it (it is not long) and telling me whether you think it generally true. . . . . Any opinion which you might be so good as to give me would not be quoted or published in my work, but would merely induce me to reconsider and correct a delineation which I should wish to have impartial, and which it is not perhaps very easy to make so.

Believe me, &c.,

Mahon.

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Sir Robert Peel to Lord Mahon.

Drayton Manor,
Dec. 23, 1833.

MY DEAR LORD MAHON,

You will consider me, from the length of my letter, a very prolix, and, from the tenor of it, a very severe and unsparing critic. Let me, however, propitiate you by the remark, that I would not have written so long a letter to any one for whom I had not the highest respect; and that if I am anxious that you should place the character of Sir Robert Walpole in a less unfavourable light than that in which you appear to have viewed it, it is because I am sensible of the weight and authority which will attach to the judgment of so dispassionate and accomplished an historian. As I sit down to write, I am conscious that from the impression that your views of the character and conduct of Walpole withhold from him his just meed of praise, I shall probably exaggerate his merits; and as I begin by impeaching my own impartiality, I give you every right to reject my testimony.

Ever most faithfully yours,
ROBERT PEEL.

Memorandum by Sir Robert Peel.

It appears to me that your general estimate of the qualities and public services of Walpole is too low; that you have not made sufficient allowance for the

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difficulties with which he had to contend; that you have not given him sufficient credit for the complete success with which he surmounted them; and that you have attached too much weight to the accusations which party rancour and disappointment preferred against him.

To say of Walpole "that there remains, after every allowance, a vast load of guilt upon his memory;" that he shocked and exceeded his age in venality; that "even when he had no immediate interest to serve, he attempted to lower the tone of public morals," are weighty charges against his memory, which, being proved, must consign him to execration and contempt, if he had no redeeming virtues save those which you assign to him. There must surely have been something very extraordinary in the character and powers of that man who, being the son of a private gentleman, without any advantage from a distinguished name, or services of illustrious ancestors, was Prime Minister of England amid great public difficulties for a period of twenty years,—who mainly by his personal exertions contributed to establish and confirm without severity, without bloodshed, a new and unpopular dynasty,—who tolerated no competitor for power,—was emphatically *the Minister* of England,—and who seems to have rebuked the genius of every adversary; having had for his adversaries men of the greatest talents and of the highest attainments.

Of what public man can it be said with any assurance of certainty, that, placed in the situation of Walpole, he would in the course of an administration of twenty

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years have committed so few errors, and would have left at the close of it the House of Hanover in equal security, and the finances in equal order?—that he would have secured to England more of the blessings of peace, or would have defeated the machinations of internal enemies with less of vindictive severity, or fewer encroachments on the liberty of the subject?

You attribute Walpole's success mainly to corruption. You consider the revival of expiring and almost extinguished corruption to have been the strength, and that it should be the shame, of Walpole. You assume that public men were disposed to be virtuous, and that Walpole set the example, at least was the author and parent, of renewed venality. Now, what is the evidence,—where are the proofs of this?

If Walpole did really corrupt the age,—if the foundation of his strength was the systematic misapplication of the public money to the purposes of bribery, or the prostitution of public honours and rewards to the same end, why, when these charges were daily preferred against him for the purpose of inflaming the public mind, why is it that a Select Committee of twenty-one Members—nineteen of them his bitter enemies—appointed after his fall, commissioned to lay a siege to his past life, equal in duration to the siege of Troy, produced no details of bribery,—no specific facts to support the confident allegations of Walpole's powerful and inveterate enemies? It does seem marvellous that if bribery was so systematic, and corruption so shameless and notorious; if elections were unduly influenced to so novel and extraordinary a degree; if fraudulent con-

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tracts were granted so lavishly; that the specific instances of these misdeeds on the part of a fallen and most unpopular Minister should be so very meagre, and supported by such imperfect proofs.

When one recollects what other Ministers, the predecessors of Walpole, had so recently done; the shameful bribes which had been taken by Cabinet Ministers—by Sunderland, and Aislabie, and Craggs—for the furtherance of the South Sea scheme; and when one reads the Report of that Committee, the bitter enemies of Walpole, their horror at his attempts on the virtue of the Mayor of Weymouth, their indignation that in order to secure a favourable returning officer he had promised the Mayor a place in the Revenue; that he had committed the shocking atrocity of dismissing some Excise officers who voted against the Government candidate, one cannot help smiling at the virtuous rage of these incensed patriots, who seem, like the giants in Rabelais, after having swallowed windmills for their daily fare, to have been choked by a pound of butter.

You say that the knowledge of Walpole was incredibly scanty; and you repeat the story, which appears to rest on the authority of Yorke, the Attorney-General, that in the course of a debate in the House of Commons Walpole heard for the first time of Empson and Dudley.

If this be so, it serves to increase the miracle of the natural powers of Walpole's intellect. But is it credible that he could be so deficient in literature and acquired knowledge? Is it consistent with the known facts respecting him, and the reports of disinterested and

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very competent judges? When Steele was threatened with expulsion, and when Addison was commissioned to write the speech that Steele was to make in his own defence, the speech actually delivered by Steele was not the elaborate composition of Addison, but the extemporaneous suggestion of Walpole, who the next day, says Bishop Newton, on the authority of Pulteney, made another speech, as good or better, on the same subject, but totally different from the former, "which particulars are mentioned as illustrious proofs of his uncommon eloquence."

Lord Hardwicke describes him as "a great master of the commercial and political interests of this country;" a character which it is not very easy to reconcile with utter ignorance of the main facts of English history. Walpole's speech on the Peerage Bill is the speech of an accomplished scholar. Speaker Onslow mentions it as a speech of as much natural eloquence and genius as had ever been heard within those walls. Onslow repeats the striking passage in it, "that the usual path to the Temple of Honour had been through the Temple of Virtue; but by this Bill it was now to be only through the sepulchre of a dead ancestor;" and adds that in this strain Walpole bore down everything before him.

I have no doubt that in the general tenor of his speeches he accommodated himself to the audience which it was his business to convince. He depreciated to his sons the flowing harangues of Pitt, Lyttelton, and Pulteney; and said to them that when he had answered Sir John Barnard and Lord Polwarth he considered that he had concluded the debate.

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I presume he found the addresses of Sir John and Lord Polwarth more effective on their side the question than more classical and elaborate harangues. The truth is, that so far as the great majority of his audience was concerned, he had blocks to cut, and he chose a fitter instrument than a razor to cut them with. "They thought of dining;" and he first convinced, and then dined with them; and in those days no doubt the dinner was a powerful instrument in facilitating the conviction of country gentlemen.

You draw a parallel between the characters of Strafford and Walpole, manifestly, and, I think, in an undue degree, to the advantage of Strafford.

No doubt there is much more of romantic interest in the history of Strafford than of Walpole. The personal qualities of Strafford would probably have made him, under any circumstances, stand out in bolder relief; but it appears to me that in estimating the character and the actions of the two men, you overlook the marked difference of the times in which they lived, and of the circumstances in which they acted.

You speak, by way of contrast with Walpole, of the heroic contempt of danger manifested by Strafford; of his unconquerable courage in death; of the firmness with which he executed his designs; nay, you have even some admiration to spare for his bold aggressions on the Constitution.

But surely Walpole was a brave man. Surely that man who withstood for twenty years, and maintained his power against the attacks of such formidable opponents as those who were arrayed against him; who

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never once quailed before an antagonist; who, when conquered, retired fighting alone, with his face towards his enemies,—with all his wounds, like the Roman soldier's, *adversâ fronte*,—surely he must have had courage, and resolution, and contempt of danger, which, had circumstances required the romantic exercise of such qualities, would have shone forth with the same lustre which gilded the decline of Strafford.

You contrast the qualities of Walpole with those of Strafford, in the same spirit with which you contrast the scaffold on which the one died by a violent and unjust death with the bed in which the other, full of years, lay suffering by the stone. You might also contrast the armour of Strafford with the velvet waistcoat of Walpole, or the helmet of one with the full-bottomed wig of the other. No doubt the qualities displayed in the time of fierce civil contention,—in the revolution of opinions and forms of government, are much more interesting, much more captivating in description, than the qualities by which a new dynasty is to be gradually confirmed, and by which peace at home and abroad is to be secured. No doubt the cumbrous dress in which a corpulent Minister sweats at a Levee in the dog-days is a much worse subject for a picture (particularly when one is by Kneller, and the other by Vandyke) than the flashing armour in which a statesman goes to the council in order that he may be ready for the field. But in estimating the characters and conduct of men living at different periods, in apportioning to each their respective merit or blame, justice cannot be done unless due allowance be made for the difference of cir-

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cumstances imposing different duties, and calling into action different qualities.

You must have a new test by which to try the conduct of public men, varying with the lapse of time, with the altered character of events, and with the changes of public opinion.

In my opinion men, and the conduct of men, are much more the creatures of circumstances than they generally appear in history. Infamous as Robespierre and Marat unquestionably are, it would be no easy matter to assign to each their due share of infamy without a very dispassionate inquiry into many minute events which contributed to shape their course, and into the degrees of conflicting dangers between which they had to choose.

Try Walpole and Strafford by the *result* of their counsels, by their result to the Monarchs whom they served, and how powerful would the contrast be in favour of Walpole! The test would be an unfair one; but not so unfair as the adventitious circumstances which you have enlisted in aid of Strafford. Desertion in extreme peril by the Prince whom he had faithfully served, an unjust sentence, death on the scaffold, endured with the most becoming and affecting courage: these things naturally attract the sympathies of mankind around the person and the memory of the sufferer. Lips compressed in iron resolution, and glances of fire, are very becoming to a hero; they suit the iron times in which Strafford lived; but why not let Walpole "laugh the heart's laugh, and nod the approving head," if the heart's laugh was not out of place, and if, in spite

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of his enemies, he kept a head wherewith to nod his approbation?

Can you justly say of Walpole, "that his defects were low and common; that no enthusiasm was ever felt for his person, none ever kindled by his memory?"—of that man of whom Speaker Onslow said "that on his retirement from office, his retreat was entire from the concerns of government, but not from the following estimation of almost every man of those that had surrounded him when in the height of power;" that "he was a wise and able Minister, and the best man, from the goodness of his heart, to live with and live under, of any great man I ever knew."

You mention the cost of his buildings at Houghton,—of his splendid collection of pictures,—of the meetings at Houghton by which he kept together his political friends.

You say that the admitted cost of these things (some of them, by the bye, betokening no vulgar tastes or absorption in sensual pleasures) may perhaps be reconciled with honesty, but hardly with disinterestedness. Hardly with economy, perhaps hardly with a provident care for his successor;—but how do they impeach his disinterestedness?

If he derived emoluments from his offices to which he was not entitled, he was dishonest; but if he employed the fair emoluments of office in the erection of a palace, and in adorning it with the finest works of art, his extravagance may not be reconciled with prudence, but it may with both honesty and disinterestedness. If you quote Coxe for authority that the rental of the family

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estate did not exceed 2160*l.* in the year 1700, ought you not to quote him also for the statement which he makes in express reference to this subject, that the estate could not be at the time of Walpole's resignation less than between 4000*l.* and 5000*l.* a year?

But I must have done, or I shall write a pamphlet instead of a letter, and deter you from ever communicating with me again on subjects so attractive.

ROBERT PEEL.

Lord Mahon to the Right Hon. Sir Robert Peel.

[Extract.]

Bromley Hill, Dec. 27, 1833.

. . . . . .

On several points, such, for instance, as my parallel of Lord Strafford, I am convinced at once by the force of your remarks of the erroneous view which I had taken. To the others I shall devote both reflection and reading, and I have no doubt that with such a pilot as I have now obtained I shall not be found, as might otherwise have been the case, steering far from the right harbour.

I must own that when I look at Walpole's moderate inheritance, I still feel some difficulty in satisfactorily accounting for his lavish expenditure. Even at that period it was not very easy to become much richer in high office. Lord Chesterfield, I think, says of one of Walpole's successors, the Duke of Newcastle, that he

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was poorer by 300,000*l.* when he left than when he entered the Treasury; which, by the bye, he goes on to call, with a sneer at Walpole, "a most unministerial proceeding!" I had imagined that (waiving for a moment the different relative value of money) the salary and emoluments of a Prime Minister were not much more considerable in those days than in ours. Thus, then, it seemed very strange how Walpole, who from his profuse style of living, and especially his "meetings" at Houghton, was thought fully to live up to his income, could yet spare from it at least 240,000*l.* for buildings, lands, and pictures, that is, during his twenty years of Premiership, at the rate of 12,000*l.* annually.

Sir Robert Peel to Lord Mahon.

Drayton Manor,
Dec. 30, 1833.

MY DEAR LORD MAHON,

I am more than repaid if my observations on the character of Walpole have been of any use to you.

One word more as to the charges of personal corruption which were preferred by Walpole's enemies. In the last century such charges against Ministers who built splendid houses, or lived expensively, were not unfrequent. If I recollect right, Lord Bute was subject to the same accusation on account of Luton: it was said he was bribed by France.

200,000*l.* is certainly a large sum for Walpole to have

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expended at Houghton; but observe, this sum includes purchase of land; and before there could be any well grounded suspicion of personal dishonesty, many inquiries should be made.

The first and most material would be, What were the usual and legitimate emoluments of the offices which Walpole held, or which his immediate family held? In modern times the exact income of a Secretary at War, a Paymaster of the Forces, and a Chancellor of the Exchequer, is strictly regulated, and known to all the world; but in the time of Walpole the payment was mainly by fees, occasionally very large in their amount. I believe the gains of two of the offices above mentioned—the War Office and Pay Office—to have been very considerable.

Another inquiry would be, Whether the money for purchases of land was raised on the whole, or paid by mortgage on the land bought?

The amount of the fortune of Walpole's first wife, and his legitimate gains by the open sale of South Sea Stock when out of office, must be taken into the account.

A fourth subject of inquiry would be, the fortune left by Walpole. I doubt whether he did not die an embarrassed man; whether he had not spent by far the greater part of his emoluments.

It is twice mentioned by Coxe that he lamented that he had built on so large a scale at Houghton, and Coxe has these expressions: "The embarrassed situation of his own affairs increased his dejection."

My general impression is, that he was profuse in his

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expenditure, and careless about money. I cannot say I think 3000*l.* a year for the Prime Minister of England to spend in convivial entertainments at a magnificent country house, where he received, not only his personal, but his political friends, at all unreasonable.

Other Ministers have laid by their emoluments and escaped notice. Walpole spent his income, and the evidence of profusion was daily seen, and created, I believe, unfounded suspicion.

Nothing would surprise me more than to find Walpole convicted of personal dishonesty, when I look at his demeanour in the face of his enemies, his general habits, the scrutiny to which his conduct was exposed after his fall, and the warning he had in early life by a committal to the Tower on a charge of this nature.

I am amused at one of Mr. Macaulay's criticisms on the conduct of Walpole. The charge is that he modified or withdrew unpopular measures; that, for instance, he abandoned the Excise Bill when he found it offensive to the great towns of England.

Mr. Macaulay says that the language which he held about the Excise measure is "eminently characteristic." The language was that he thought the measure in principle right, but consented to abandon it in deference to popular opinion.

Did you happen to read Mr. Macaulay's speech to the electors of Leeds about the repeal of the Corn Laws?—which Corn Laws are to be maintained (against principle in Mr. Macaulay's opinion) because the people are *divided* on the subject.

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Sir Robert Walpole might justly reply, if he had the power of reply: "I at least *tried* the measure which I thought right. I did not abandon it until success was proved to be hopeless, and opposition to be universal. But you, my accuser, when you are in office, shrink from even the *proposal* of what you think right. On your own showing you find public opinion not unanimous against your measure, but equally divided as to its merits; and yet, with all justice and half the people on your side, you do that without a struggle which you consider it disgraceful for me to have done *after* the battle and *after* defeat.

"Cur indecores in limine primo
Deficitis? cur ante tubam tremor occupat artus?" [1]

I suppose Sir Robert's quotation would have been from Horace.

I am not saying whether the Government be right or wrong, but only that Ministerial critics on the conduct of former Ministers should make allowances if, in popular governments, right principles are occasionally sacrificed to the fear of popular discontents.

Ever most faithfully yours,

ROBERT PEEL.

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[1] Virgil, Æn. lib. xi. v. 423.

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THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON ON THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.

1836.

WHEN, in the autumn of 1836, I was writing the second volume of my 'History of England,' I had some thoughts of inserting a passage as follows, relative to the Duke of Marlborough.

"The time is not come for comparing together the conquerors of Blenheim and of Waterloo. A parallel between the living and the dead can never be quite fairly drawn. This only I will say, that no man can entertain a higher respect and admiration for Marlborough than the only Englishman who could possibly be accounted his superior. I once heard the Duke of Wellington asked whether he thought Napoleon or Marlborough the greater General. 'It is difficult to answer that,' he replied. 'I used always to say that the presence of Napoleon at a battle was equal to a reinforcement of 40,000 men. But I can conceive nothing greater than Marlborough at the head of an English army. He had greater difficulties than I had with his allies; the Dutch were worse to manage than

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the Spaniards or the Portuguese. But, on the other hand, I think I had most difficulties at home. He was all in all with the administration; but I supported the Government much more than they supported me.'"

On Sept. 17, 1836, I sent this passage in MS. to the Duke, telling him that I would insert it only if that insertion met with his entire approbation. "But if not," I added, "have the goodness to strike your pen through the page, and there shall be an end of it."

In reply, the Duke drew up and sent me the enclosed Memorandum. I accordingly omitted the passage in question from my History.

S.

Memorandum by the Duke of Wellington.

Sept. 18, 1836.

It is very true that I have often said that I considered Napoleon's presence in the field to be equal to 40,000 men in the balance.

This is a very loose way of talking; but the idea is a very different one from that of his presence at a battle being equal to a reinforcement of 40,000 men.

I'll explain my meaning.

1. Napoleon was a *grand homme de guerre*, possibly the greatest that ever appeared at the head of a French army.

2. He was the Sovereign of the country as well as the Military Chief of the army. That country was constituted

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upon a military basis. All its institutions were framed for the purpose of forming and maintaining its armies with a view to conquest. All the offices and rewards of the State were reserved in the first instance exclusively for the army. An officer, even a private soldier, of the army might look to the sovereignty of a kingdom as the reward for his services. It is obvious that the presence of the Sovereign with an army so constituted must greatly excite their exertions.

3. It was quite certain that all the resources of the French State, civil, political, financial, as well as military, were turned towards the seat of the operations which Napoleon himself should direct.

4. Every Sovereign in command of an army enjoys advantages against him who exercises only a delegated power, and who acts under orders and responsibilities. But Napoleon enjoyed more advantages of this description than any other Sovereign that ever appeared. His presence, as stated by me more than once, was likely not only to give to the French army all the advantages above detailed, but to put an end to all the jealousies of the French Marshals and their counter-action of each other, whether founded upon bad principles and passions, or their fair differences of opinion. The French army thus had a unity of action.

These four considerations induced me to say generally that his presence ought to be considered as 40,000 men in the scale. But the idea is obviously very loose, as must be seen by a moment's reflection.

If the two armies opposed to each other were 40,000 men on each side, his presence could not be equal to a

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reinforcement of 40,000 men on the side of the French army, nor even if they were 60,000 men on each side, or possibly even 80,000 men on each side.

It is clear, however, that wherever he went he carried with him an obvious advantage. I don't think that I ought to be quoted as calling that advantage as equal to a *reinforcement* of 40,000 men under all possible circumstances.

I quite agree that the Duke of Marlborough is the greatest man that ever appeared at the head of a British army.

He had greater difficulties to contend with in respect to his operations and the command of his troops in the field than I had. I had no Dutch Deputies to control my movements or intentions, whether to fight or otherwise. But, on the other hand, I had armies to co-operate with me, upon whose operations I could not reckon, owing to the defective state of their discipline and their equipments, and their deficiencies of all kinds. I could not rely upon ten thousand of them doing what five hundred ought to do, or upon their doing anything, much less upon their doing what ten thousand ought to do. The Duke of Marlborough did not labour under this inconvenience.

Then the Duke of Marlborough carried on his operations in countries fully peopled in proportion to their extent. He never experienced any inconveniences from the want of supplies of provisions. It was impossible to move at all in the Peninsula without previously concerted arrangements for the supply of the troops with provisions, means of transport, &c.

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The Duke of Marlborough's difficulties were greater than mine in relation to his own operations; mine were greater than his in every other respect.

But this is not all.

The Duke of Marlborough generally, if not always, commanded an army superior to his enemy in the field. The army commanded by me was always inferior, not only in reference to the description of troops, but even in numbers, to the enemy.

But that which I particularly object to is the last paragraph.

I have always, in public as well as in private, declared my obligations to the Government for the encouragement and support which they gave me, and the confidence with which they treated me.

I was not *the* Government, as the Duke of Marlborough was; nor were all the resources of this nation at my command to carry on the war which I was conducting, as the resources of Great Britain, in the time of Queen Anne—military, naval, political, and financial—were at the command of the Duke of Marlborough. The nation at that time were heart-in-hand, bent upon carrying on that war. France was not then so powerful as she was from 1808 to 1814; England was not threatened with invasion; it was not necessary to protect Sicily by an army of 20,000 men of the best troops, The United States had not been formed, and it was not necessary to defend our vital interests on the Continent of America against their attack. The resources of the country then, instead of being exclusively devoted to

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carry on the war which I conducted, were unavoidably devoted to other objects.

Besides all this, there was a formidable opposition to the Government in Parliament, which opposed itself particularly to the operations of the war in the Peninsula.

It would not be fair to compare the conduct of the Government of the Regency in relation to the war which I conducted with the conduct of the Government in the reign of Queen Anne. I cannot and never have complained of them; and I should not like to say that I "supported the Government more than they supported me."

In one sense it is true.

It is quite certain that my opinion alone was the cause of the continuance of the war in the Peninsula. My letters show that I encouraged, nay forced, the Government to persevere in it. The successes of the operations of the army supported them in power. But it is not true that they did not, in every way in their power, as individuals, as Ministers, and as a Government, support me.

WELLINGTON.

Duke of Wellington to Lord Mahon.

MY DEAR LORD MAHON, Strathfieldsaye, February 19, 1837.

Did you ever know that application was made to Louis XIV. to make Lord Marlborough a Colonel in his service?

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I send you the copy. I can send you a fac-simile of the letter.

Ever yours most sincerely,

W.

[Enclosure.]

(*Dépot Général de la Guerre.*)

Extrait du 2e Volume de la Correspondance relative à la Guerre d'Allemagne en 1674.

MONSIEUR, Paris, le 29 Mars, 1674.

Celle:cy vous sera rendüe par Monsieur Churchill que je presentay hyer a Sa Mte. Tres Chrestienne de la part du Roy de la Grande Bretagne, avec priere de luy vouloir accorder une Comission de Colonel d'Infanterie dans son service.

J'eus le bien d'entretenir aussi hyer Monsieur de Pompone des affaires du Regiment de Cavalerie de Monsieur le Duc de Monmouth, qui est a Treves, & supplie V. Exce. de considerer les memoires conjonts, touchant l'une et l'autre affaire, & de souffrir que Monsieur de Littleton, Lieutenant Colonel dudit Regiment de Cavalerie, puisse avoir l'honneur de vous aller entretenir des Interests de ce Regiment, en attendant que j'aye celuy de le pouvoir faire moy mesme, & de vous remercier en mesme tems de toutes les Civilites par lesquelles il vous a plû obliger

Monsieur, de V. Exce.

Le tres humble & tres
Obeissant serviteur,
WILL. LOCKHART.

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THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON ON THE MOSCOW RETREAT.

1842.

In the autumn of 1842 Lord Francis Egerton (afterwards the first Earl of Ellesmere) drew up an able commentary on the Russian campaign of 1812, which he embodied in a letter to the Right Hon. Charles Arbuthnot. He endeavoured to show that in their first retreat the Russians had committed some errors of strategy, being misled by the successful precedent of the British army to the lines of Torres Vedras.

The Duke was greatly pleased with this paper, and wrote upon it the following Memorandum, which (I being then at Walmer with him) he had the goodness to show me. He also allowed me to take a copy.

S.

Memorandum by the Duke of Wellington.

Walmer Castle, October, 1842.

I have been much interested in the perusal of this letter.

When I go to London, I will look for the papers which I wrote on the campaign in Russia, of which I

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gave a copy to Walter Scott, which he used in his 'History of the Life of Napoleon.'

Lord Francis is right. The Russians nearly lost themselves by an ill-applied imitation of our operations which saved Portugal; and they would have been lost, if Napoleon had not always, and particularly at that time, found himself under the necessity of seeking to fight a general battle. With this view he quitted the basis of his operations, up to that moment successful, adopted a new line, which, after all, he never completely established, and ultimately abandoned. That which the Russians did well was their dogged refusal to treat.

Napoleon having fought his battle and obtained possession of the ancient and real capital of the country, intended to record his triumph as usual in a Treaty of Peace, by one of the articles of which he would have obtained a sum of money to replenish his coffers, according to his usual practice; and he would then have made a peaceable and triumphant retreat from Russia across Poland and Germany, supported by the resources of the Russian Government as long as his armies should have remained in the Russian territory.

In the mean time he had made no preparations for the Military Retreat which he would have to make, if his Diplomatic efforts should fail, which they did.

We see that he was distressed for want of communications even before he thought of retreat; his hospitals were not supplied, nor even taken care of, and were at last carried off; and when he commenced to make a

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real movement of retreat, he was involved in difficulties without number. The first basis of his operations was lost; the new one not established; and he was not strong enough to force his way to the only one which could have been practicable, and by the use of which he might have saved his army,—by the sacrifice, however, of all those corps which were in the northern line of operations: I mean the line from Kalouga through the southern countries. But, instead of that, he was forced to take his retreat by the line of the river Beresina, which was exhausted, and upon which he had made no preparations whatever. This is in few words the history of that disaster.

It is my opinion that the loss of the French army would have been accelerated, more disastrous and disgraceful, if the season had been wet instead of having been frosty. In truth, the army could not in that case have moved at all in the state to which all its animals were reduced at that time.

WELLINGTON.

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LINES BY PRINCE CHARLES STUART,

(OF "THE '45.")

(From the Stuart Papers at Windsor.)

Hated by fools and fools to hate—
Be this my motto and my fate!

I hate all Kings and the thrones they sit on,
From the King of France to the Caliph of Britain.*

To my poor Country
[My] testament will be:
Do all what you can,
[You'll] be Republican!

De Rome, France et Espagne les infamies—
Je reste le Comte d'Albanie.

---

* *Note to the Second Edition.*—These two couplets are, I find, only transcripts made by Prince Charles for his own use; the first being the close of an epistle from Dr. Swift to Dr. Delany, and the second, though slightly altered, part of a poem by Lord Rochester.—S.

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THE TWO PITTS.

THESE lines were sent me in November, 1861, by the Rev. Thomas Pascoe, of St. Hilary's, Marazion, Cornwall, who states in his letter that he was born in 1788, and that he remembers hearing them recited "when quite a boy." I do not think that I ever saw them in print.

S.

GREAT Chatham, who from humbled France
Acquired a deathless fame,
The first of statesmen stood confessed,
And nations owned the claim.

Yet by one act he weaker made
His claim instead of stronger;
He gave the admiring world a son,
And then was first no longer.

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ENIGMA

BY WILLIAM PITT, AFTERWARDS EARL OF CHATHAM.

(From the Papers at Chevening.)

To discover the name that my verse would express,
A letter you'll first from the alphabet guess;
Which letter by this may be easily known—
Its shape is the very reverse of your own.
Say next, if a fair one too rashly exposes
A beauteous complexion of lilies and roses,
What the beams of the sun will infallibly do
To deaden their lustre and sully their hue.
Add to these, what induces the amorous swain
To persist in his vows, though received with disdain;
What comforts the wretch whom his fortunes oppress,
And arms him with courage to bear his distress.
These join'd all together will make up the name
Of a family known in the annals of fame:
'Tis the name of a Countess, whose portrait in vain
My Muse would attempt in so humble a strain.
Should I say she's the fairest of all the fair sex,
Your judgment it only would serve to perplex;
For, though known and acknowledged by all to be true,
Your manners bespeak it a secret to you.

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VALENTINE

TO THE HON. MARY C. STANHOPE,

(DAUGHTER OF LORD AND LADY MAHON.)

1851.

Hail, day of Music, day of Love,
On earth below, in air above.
In air the turtle fondly moans,
The linnet pipes in joyous tones;
On earth the postman toils along,
Bent double by huge bales of song,
Where, rich with many a gorgeous dye,
Blazes all Cupid's heraldry—
Myrtles and roses, doves and sparrows,
Love-knots and altars, lamps and arrows.
What nymph without wild hopes and fears
The double rap this morning hears?
Unnumbered lasses, young and fair,
From Bethnal Green to Belgrave Square,
With cheeks high flushed, and hearts loud beating,
Await the tender annual greeting.
The loveliest lass of all is mine—
Good morrow to my Valentine!

Good morrow, gentle Child! and then
Again good morrow, and again,
Good morrow following still good morrow,
Without one cloud of strife or sorrow.
And when the God to whom we pay
In jest our homages to-day

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Shall come to claim, no more in jest,
His rightful empire o'er thy breast,
Benignant may his aspect be,
His yoke the truest liberty:
And if a tear his power confess,
Be it a tear of happiness.
It shall be so. The Muse displays
The future to her votary's gaze;
Prophetic rage my bosom swells—
I taste the cake—I hear the bells!
From Conduit Street the close array
Of chariots barricades the way
To where I see, with outstretched hand,
Majestic, thy great kinsman stand,[1]
And half unbend his brow of pride,
As welcoming so fair a bride.
Gay favours, thick as flakes of snow,
Brighten St. George's portico:
Within I see the chancel's pale,
The orange flowers, the Brussels veil,
The page on which those fingers white,
Still trembling from the awful rite,
For the last time shall faintly trace
The name of Stanhope's noble race.
I see kind faces round thee pressing,
I hear kind voices whisper blessing;
And with those voices mingles mine—
All good attend my Valentine!

T. B. MACAULAY.

St. Valentine's Day, 1851.

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[1] The statue of Mr. Pitt in Hanover Square.

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CHARLES V. AND THE TWO CLOCKS.

1851.

W. Stirling, Esq., of Keir, to Lord Mahon.

[Extract.]

Park Street, May 6, 1851.

Robertson says that Charles V., finding that he could make no two of his clocks at Yuste go alike, remarked that perhaps he had erred in attempting to compel uniformity in the more difficult matter of religion. This story, which must evidently have come from a Protestant source, I cannot find in any of the writers whom he refers to at the bottom of the page, nor have I been able to trace it to any of the historians contemporary with Charles or Philip II. Can you assist me to discover it? I should like to ask Mr. Macaulay, who knows where everything is to be found; but I do not know him sufficiently to trouble him with a letter. The earliest book in which I have ever read it is in a 'Description of the Gardens of the Loo,' written by a physician of London, and printed in 1699;[1] but its

[1] Harris's *Description of the Gardens of the Loo*, London, 1699, 4°. p. 70. The story is adopted by Hume (*Hist. of Mary Tudor*), from whom it is not unlikely that Robertson may have taken it. The point is discussed in *Cloister Life of Charles V.*, p. 221, note, ed. 1852.

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occurrence there proves that it must then have been a well known anecdote.

Right Hon. T. B. Macaulay to Lord Mahon.

DEAR MAHON, Albany, May 7, 1851.

It seems to me very strange that, if the story about Charles and his clocks be true, it should not be in Brantôme. It is an anecdote after Brantôme's own heart. Observe, too, that he mentions the report that the Emperor "avoit tenu quelques propos légers de foy."

I strongly suspect that the story originated in a frigid rhetorical conceit of Famianus Strada. You will find it in his first book: "Saepe fabricandis horologiis (quorum videlicet rotis multo quam Fortunae facilius temperabat) . . . . operam dare."

Now, I think it almost impossible that Strada could have written thus, if the saying ascribed to Charles had already been famous. On the other hand it is easy to see how Strada's expressions, after being inaccurately translated, might be gradually distorted and expanded into something like the popular fable which Robertson has repeated. This is my present opinion. But I never examined the matter deeply, and may very likely be mistaken.

I return Mr. Stirling's letter. His articles are, as you say, very good.

Ever yours truly,

T. B. MACAULAY.

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THE RED COATS OF THE ARMY.

1851.

Lord Mahon to the Right Hon. T. B. Macaulay.

Grosvenor Place,
May 17, 1851.

My dear Macaulay,

You have sometimes allowed me—as lately in the case of the Emperor Charles V. at San Yuste—to refer to you when I am asked an antiquarian question which I cannot answer. In the present instance I would appeal to you in your double capacity of student and of Secretary at War. Pray when was the British army for the first time clothed in red? That was the inquiry addressed to me yesterday by no less a person than the Duke of Wellington. I answered that I did not know exactly, but imagined it to be in the reign of Charles the Second. The Duke seemed to think that it was earlier, and that Monk's troops, for example, were *Redcoats*.

What say you?

Ever yours truly,

Mahon.

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Right Hon. T. B. Macaulay to Lord Mahon.

DEAR MAHON, Albany, May 19, 1851.

The Duke is certainly right. The army of the Commonwealth was clothed in red. Remember Hudibras:—

"So Cromwell with deep oaths and vows
Swore all the Commons out of th' House;
Vowed that the redcoats would disband,
Aye, marry, would they, at command!
And trolled them on, and swore, and swore,
Till the army turned them out of door."

Ever yours truly,

T. B. MACAULAY.

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BLUE AND BUFF.

WHY WERE THESE THE WHIG COLOURS?

1854.

In the last volume of my 'History of England,' as published at the beginning of 1854, I quoted a statement of Sir Nathaniel Wraxall, speaking of the year 1781 ('Memoirs,' vol. ii., p. 2, ed. 1815), that Mr. Fox in the House of Commons constantly wore a blue frock-coat and a buff waistcoat. "Nor ought it to be forgotten," says Sir Nathaniel, "that these colours then constituted the distinguishing badge or uniform of the American insurgents."

I observed upon this passage that the authority of Wraxall, though very slight, might suffice for the fact of a dress. "Yet here," I added, "I cannot but suspect some misrepresentation of the motive. It is hard to believe, even of the most vehement days of party spirit, that any Englishman could avowedly assume in the House of Commons the colours of those who, even though on the most righteous grounds, bore arms against England; and I should be willing to take in preference any other explanation that can be plausibly alleged."

Some correspondence ensued upon the subject.

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Lord Mahon to the Right Hon. Sir Robert Adair.

Grosvenor Place,
MY DEAR SIR ROBERT, March 14, 1854.

I avail myself of the acquaintance which—though slight and at some years' distance—I had once the honour of forming with you, to take the liberty of addressing an inquiry to you respecting a point of bygone history. Sir —— —— assures me that you have a full recollection of a point on which some uncertainty exists; the circumstance, namely, that gave rise to the choice of Blue and Buff as the colours of the old Whig party. Would you have any objection to state to me, for the sake of historical accuracy, what you conceive the reason to have been?

I would further beg leave to ask you whether you would allow me to cite your high authority as evidence upon this subject, should I have occasion to notice it in my next volume of 'History?'

In any case I hope that you will be disposed to forgive the trouble I am giving you in this letter, and will believe me, &c. &c.,

MAHON.

Sir Robert Adair to Lord Mahon.

Chesterfield Street,
MY DEAR LORD MAHON, March 15, 1854.

I am highly flattered by your letter, to which I fear, however, that I can give but a very imperfect answer. I have no recollection of any "circumstance" that gave rise to the adoption of Blue and Buff colours

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as a party distinction by the Whigs. I have worn them for years, but never knew why, except that they were worn by Mr. Fox. In the course of this long period (seventy years and more), I have heard that they were the colours of General Washington's regiment, and, in fact, they are the colours of Washington's uniform in the picture of him at Quiddenham, as Lord Albemarle can tell you.

I have heard from some of our philosophical Whigs, who find a reason for everything, that those colours are emblematical of the Revolution of 1688, which we are all proud to derive from the union of Whig and Tory, —a Revolution, as Burke well says, prevented rather than effected. The Blue, they said, was the old Tory true blue; the Buff was a descendant of the Dutch Orange of King William; but by degrees the Orange became Yellow, as harmonizing better with the Blue.

You see how fanciful all this is. In the mean time habit goes its course; and here I am, at the end of so many years, to the great annoyance of my valet-de-chambre, with nothing else in my wardrobe for him when I die.

With many and sincere thanks for your remembrance of me,

Believe me, my dear Lord, &c. &c.,

R. ADAIR.

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Lord Sidney Osborne to Lord Mahon.

Hampstead, September 8, 1854.

Lord Sidney Osborne presents his compliments to Lord Mahon, and though unknown to his Lordship, takes the liberty of addressing him, as, in the 486th page of the last volume of his 'History of England,' he states, with the candour that always distinguishes him, his willingness to accept any explanation of the origin of the Whig party assuming Blue and Buff as a distinguishing colour. Lord Sidney is firmly convinced in his own mind that these colours were those of the uniform of the Goodwood Hunt of that day, and were very naturally adopted by the political followers of the Duke of Richmond, and still more so by his nephew, Charles Fox. Lord Sidney has no documents to refer to, but relies exclusively on his memory, and he feels certain of having heard this explanation from the late Earl of Chichester; and in corroboration thereof he distinctly recollects the evening uniform of the Civil Staff of the late Duke of Richmond (who certainly never was a Whig) when Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, being Blue and Buff, and he thinks that he heard from the Duke the same explanation as to the adoption of them by the Whig party; but he feels much less certain of that than of Lord Chichester's evidence. That the Americans assumed the colours of the Whigs was natural enough, and not discreditable to either party, whereas the avowed adoption of hostile colours would have been highly blame-worthy in all Whigs; and Lord Mahon is most justly reluctant to believe it.

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Lord Sidney has no doubt but that the present Duke of Richmond would be able to certify as to the Blue and Buff having been the evening uniform of the Goodwood Hunt during his great uncle's life; and if it was, the origin here offered by Lord Sidney, which is corroborated by his own recollections, would be a very natural one.

Lord Sidney begs to apologize for having thus trespassed upon the time and patience of Lord Mahon, but flatters himself that, though a stranger, he will be forgiven; and that if the origin here submitted should not be deemed a plausible one, the liberty will be attributed to its real cause,—the desire to satisfy the wish evidently felt by Lord Mahon for the substitution of some other cause than that assigned by the author of 'Memoirs of my own Time.'

Lord Mahon to Lord Sidney Osborne.

My Lord, Chevening, Sept. 10, 1854.

I return your Lordship many thanks for the obliging letter which you have addressed to me.

It is curious to find, on close examination, how much uncertainty prevails as to the true origin of the "Buff and Blue" in the old Whig party. Sir Robert Adair, whom I consulted some months ago, has heard that they were derived from the American insurgents. Mr. Hallam told me that he had at one time believed these colours to have been assumed on the Coalition between Fox and

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North—Fox contributing the Buff, and Lord North the Blue—but that he had, of course, relinquished this notion, on observing that the Buff and Blue had been borne by Fox and his friends two or three years before the Coalition was effected. Mr. Macaulay is inclined to think the selection of these colours fortuitous—that is, Mr. Fox having, without any particular motive or design, commonly attired himself in a blue coat and buff waistcoat, these colours became the fashion among his followers merely from attachment to him.

There are some, again, who are disposed to trace these colours, or one of them at least, to the House of Orange and the Revolution politics. But then, why Yellow instead of Orange, and why not used as a party badge until about 1780 or 1781?

It might seem on a general view to many persons, as to your Lordship, that, supposing these colours to be traced as in actual use by the Whig party at an earlier period, it would be natural for Washington and his friends to have adopted them. Yet the probability of this will, I think, appear to you much lessened when you reflect that the taxes against which the Americans arrayed themselves were imposed by Ministers who bore the name and belonged to the party of Whigs—namely, George Grenville in 1765, and Charles Townshend in 1767.

In short, it is a very perplexing question, and the authorities upon it are most strangely divided. I thank you for your suggestions upon it, and I have the honour to remain, &c., &c.,

MAHON.

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Jared Sparks, Esq., to Lord Mahon.

[Extract.]

Cambridge, Massachusetts,
October 21, 1854.

It has always been understood here that the American uniform, Buff and Blue, which you mention, was adopted from the Whig costume or badges, previously used in England or Scotland. I am persuaded it did not originate in America.

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LORD MACAULAY'S LAST TOUR IN ITALY.

1856.

Lord Macaulay to Earl Stanhope.

Holly Lodge, Kensington,
November 1, 1856.

MY DEAR STANHOPE,

I have dated my letter wrongly. I am writing at the table of our board room,[1] while Panizzi is reading the minutes of the last meeting, Hamilton examining vouchers, and the Duke[2] on one side of me, and the Dean[3] on the other, listening to the secretary, with an attention which puts me to shame. I am very well—for me, and have had a most delightful tour. The passage of Mont Cenis, the Lake of Como, Milan, Verona, Venice, Genoa, and the beautiful and magnificent road along the Mediterranean from Genoa to Nice, have filled my mind with pleasant thoughts and images, which will last me my life. I availed myself of your introduction to your friend at Venice.[4] He was as well known to my courier and my gondolier as the Campanile of St. Mark. He proved a most friendly and intelligent cicerone. We shall have many

[1] At the British Museum.
[2] Of Somerset.
[3] Of St. Paul's.
[4] Rawdon Brown, Esq.

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opportunities of talking over what I have seen. On the whole, I think that the finest landscape that I saw was the view on the Italian side of Mont Cenis; the finest building, the Cathedral of Milan; the finest relique of antiquity, the Amphitheatre at Verona; the finest picture, Titian's Assumption of the Virgin; and the finest city, Genoa. But Venice, though not exactly the finest, is beyond all doubt the most interesting city that I visited.

I am now stationary, and am beginning to work again, though with very little expectation of living to publish anything more. But the employment itself is a pleasure.

I have read De Tocqueville's book, and agree with you in thinking highly of it.

I have been greatly amused by your Devonshire anecdotes. I was not aware that haunted houses were still to be found in England.[1]

My kindest regards to Lady Stanhope, and to my Valentine.

Ever yours truly,

T. B. MACAULAY.

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[1] In reference to an account which I had given him of a cottage belonging to me in a remote rural parish, which for several years had remained unlet because the neighbours declared it to be haunted.

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A MOTTO FOR A MEDAL.

1846.

Sir Walter C. James, Bart., to the Right Hon. Sir Robert Peel.

DEAR SIR ROBERT, Whitehall Place, June 15, 1846.

I send you the Medal,[1] as I promised. The artist begs that I will add, it is as yet in an incomplete condition.

The mottos we have thought of are—

Pax quaeritur bello.
Leges inter arma.
Catervae consiliis repressae.
Vincit qui patitur.

The first is the general favourite. Lord Mahon thinks Pax *quaesita* bello more elegant than *quaeritur*. Pax in bello is the motto of the Godolphins.

Lord Hardinge's own family motto, which, I suppose, he will not change, is Posterâ laude recens—a very good one, but not, I think, so appropriate to this medal as some of those I have named.

Ever, my dear Sir Robert, &c.,

W. C. JAMES.

[1] Lord Hardinge's Medal.

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Sir Robert Peel to Sir Walter James.

MY DEAR SIR WALTER, Whitehall, June 16, 1846.

I return the Medal, which is very creditable to the artist.

I am afraid none of the mottos have any specific reference to the exploits on the Indus.

The character of those exploits was this:

An unjust aggression was instantly repelled, and honourable terms of peace were voluntarily granted to the vanquished assailant.

Pax *quaesita* bello is not very applicable to that result; at least not more applicable than it is to any other just war, of whatever duration, ending in peace.

Almost every party to a war (except one of pure confiscation of territory) would allege peace to have been the object.

Leges inter arma is hardly applicable to a lawless state like the Punjaub.

Catervae consiliis repressae omits daring valour and military skill.

Vincit qui patitur, if true, should be the motto of the Sikhs. They were the sufferers.

Venit—vicit—pacem dedit, or confecit, is objectionable from the plagiarism. Still, it is the truth.

Hostibus victis pax perfecta, or something like it, is

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in Sallust; but the fault is, it is not specifically appropriate.

I wish I could have rendered you more assistance.

Ever yours, &c.,

R. PEEL.[1]

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[1] The Motto finally chosen was "Mens æqua in arduis," and it was so satisfactory to Lord Hardinge that (on his peerage) he chose it in preference to that of his own family. (W. C. J., 1862.)

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WERE HUMAN SACRIFICES IN USE AMONG THE ROMANS?

1847.

[First printed in 1860 for private circulation, with a Notice as follows prefixed.]

I AM induced to print a few copies of the following correspondence, partly from the just value that must ever attach to any views indicated either by Lord Macaulay or Sir Robert Peel, and partly from the great interest of the subject itself.

It may be noticed in these letters that Lord Macaulay discussed the question before him in a more general manner, and with less consultation of authorities, than did Sir Robert Peel. This, however, was owing solely to the difference of their positions at the time. In December, 1847, Sir Robert had ceased to be a Minister, or even in great measure a party chief. Lord Macaulay, on the contrary, was filling an office involving very numerous details, and accompanied by a seat in the Cabinet. Whenever he had sufficient time to spare from other tasks, no one loved better to explore any point of classical antiquity. No man brought to it a higher amount of critical skill. Deeply versed as he was in the literature and the language of

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both Greece and Rome, and possessing powers of memory far indeed beyond those of ordinary men, it was his delight at every interval of leisure to renew, and, if possible, extend the course of his early reading.

As one proof among many of this last assertion, I will allow myself the pleasure of transcribing a passage from a subsequent letter to me of Lord Macaulay. It is dated Clifton, August 23, 1852.

"I am certainly much better, and I begin to hope that six weeks more of the Downs will completely restore me. I have been reading a great deal of execrably bad Latin—Suetonius, Vulcatius, Spartianus, Trebellius Pollio, Julius Capitolinus, Lampridius, Vopiscus—and I am going to try to take the taste of all the barbarisms which I have been devouring out of my mouth with the 'Andria' and the 'Heautontimorumenos.' I have read Herodian too. His Greek is not first-rate, but is immeasurably superior to the Latin of his contemporaries. After all, there is a great deal to be learned from these writers. Hume was quite in the right when he said that Gibbon ought to have made more of the materials for the 'History of the Empire' from the Antonines to Diocletian. Indeed Gibbon very candidly admitted the justice of Hume's criticism."

As to the merits of the controversy on Human Sacrifices at Rome, I must confess myself to remain in a state of considerable doubt. The two passages

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from Livy and Suetonius which Sir Robert Peel transmitted to me on the 26th of December, 1847, were not at all within my recollection when I wrote to him on the same day, and they seem but little in accordance with the theory which I then proposed. In the face of such a passage as that from Suetonius, it is not easy to contend that the occasional practice of human sacrifices was entirely unknown even to the contemporaries and the friends of Cicero.

Those who may desire any further to investigate this curious question will do well to consult a note (vol. i. p. 27) in the learned and able "History of Christianity" by Dr. Milman. S.

March, 1860.

MONDAY, December 13, 1847.—Breakfast at Mr. Hallam's, where I met, amongst others, Mr. and Mrs. Bancroft, Mr. Macaulay, Dr. Milman, and Sir Robert Peel. The party did not break up till nearly one.

In one part of our conversation I mentioned a note in a German work which I had lately been reading, the "History of the Church," by Dr. Gieseler, Professor of Theology at Göttingen. The note, I said, alleges in substance that human sacrifices existed in the classic days of ancient Rome, and that, as Lactan-

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tius states, a man was still in his time immolated every year at the festival of Jupiter Latialis.

Mr. Macaulay had not seen Dr. Gieseler's book, but declared himself convinced that there was no real foundation for this story. A day or two afterwards I sent him in a note the exact words of Lactantius, as given by Dr. Gieseler: "Latialis Jupiter etiam nunc sanguine colitur humano."

The following correspondence ensued:—

Right Hon. T. B. Macaulay to Lord Mahon.

Albany,
DEAR LORD MAHON, December 15, 1847.

I know nothing of Gieseler but the passage which you have sent me, and, if I were to form my judgment of him from that passage, I must pronounce him a dunce, or something worse.

In the first place, he misquotes Lactantius. He makes Lactantius say positively, "Jupiter Latiaris is even now propitiated with human blood." But Lactantius's words are these: "Ne Latini quidem hujus immanitatis expertes fuerunt, *siquidem* Jupiter Latiaris etiam nunc sanguine colitur humano." I should translate the sentence thus: "Nor have even the Latins been free from this enormity, if it be true that even now Jupiter Latiaris is propitiated with human blood." It is quite plain to me that Lactantius wished to insinuate what he dared not assert.

Suppose that there were discovered in the British

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Museum a Puritan pamphlet of 1641, containing the following passage: "Nor is even Lambeth free from the worst corruptions of Antichrist, if it be true that the Archbishop of Canterbury and his chaplains pray to an image of the Virgin;" and suppose that I were to quote the passage thus, "The Archbishop of Canterbury and his chaplains pray to an image of the Virgin"—what would you think of my sense or honesty?

But this is not all. Where did Gieseler find that these human sacrifices were annual, rather than triennial, quinquennial, or decennial? Where did he find that they were performed at Rome, and not at Tibur or Præneste? Where did he find that the victim was a man, and not a woman? Not in Lactantius, I am sure. Yet he quotes no other authority, and I firmly believe that he has none.

As to the rest, I should certainly never admit the fact on Lactantius's authority, even if he had asserted it in the most positive manner. He was a rhetorician at Nicomedia, writing a party pamphlet in a time of violent excitement. I should think it as absurd to give credit to an affirmation of his, in contradiction to the whole literature and history of antiquity, as to believe Mac-Hale when he tells the Irish that the English Government starved two millions of them last year. But, as I have said, Lactantius affirms nothing. He was evidently afraid to do so. . . . .

Ever yours,

T. B. MACAULAY.

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Sir Robert Peel to Lord Mahon.

Drayton Manor,
December 22, 1847.

MY DEAR LORD MAHON,

I thank you for sending me Mr. Macaulay's letter respecting human sacrifices at Rome.

If you are interested in the vindication of Dr. Gieseler (of whom I never heard), you might perhaps find something to say in his defence, though it is rather presumptuous in me to suggest it, first against such an authority as Mr. Macaulay; and secondly, because I have neither the passage of the worthy Doctor which Mr. Macaulay impugns, nor the work of Lactantius which the Doctor professes to quote.

I am aware of no classical authority for the assertion that human sacrifices were offered in classic times at the festival of Jupiter Latialis. Writers, however, prior to or contemporary with Lactantius assert the fact in direct terms.

Prudentius says (lib. i. Contra Symmachum):—

> "Funditur humanus Latiari in munere sanguis
> Consessusque ille spectantûm solvit ad aram
> Plutonis fera vota sui."

Minutius, who, I believe, lived before Lactantius and Prudentius, and who was probably the authority on whom each of them relied, says:—

> "Quid ipse Jupiter vester?
> — cum Capitolinus, tunc gerit fulmina, et cum Latiaris, cruore perfunditur;"

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and, in a subsequent passage, removing any doubt as to the sort of blood, he says, expressly:—

"Hodieque ab ipsis (Romanis) Latiaris Jupiter homicidio colitur, et quod Saturni filio dignum est, mali et noxii hominis sanguine saginatur."

I have no copy of Lactantius, but in the notes of Victor Giselinus, on the passage quoted from Prudentius, there is a quotation of the passage from Lactantius, and it varies from the quotation in Mr. Macaulay's letter in a point not unimportant.

As quoted by Giselinus, the passage runs thus:—

"Galli Hesum et Teutatem humano cruore placabant. Nec Latini quidem hujus immanitatis expertes fuerunt. Siquidem Latialis Jupiter sanguine colitur humano, quid ab his boni precantur qui sic sacrificant?"

If the above be a correct quotation, there is perhaps enough of direct assertion on the part of Lactantius to justify the German Doctor in supposing that he meant to assert that the Romans were guilty of human sacrifices.

But the quotation, probably, is not a correct one, at least as to punctuation. The words of the original text are, I take for granted, as quoted by Mr. Macaulay: "Nec Latini quidem hujus immanitatis expertes fuerunt, siquidem Jupiter Latialis etiam nunc sanguine colitur humano."

Is it quite clear that siquidem must mean *if indeed?* May it not mean *inasmuch as?* I will give you two passages in which I apprehend it bears the latter construction. "Siquidem e castris egredi non liceret" is

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in a passage in Cæsar (De Bello Gallico) of which I think the context will show that *since* or *inasmuch as* is the meaning, and not *if indeed.*

Ovid, speaking of the illustrious descent and marriage of Peleus, has these lines:—

> . . . . . "Nam conjuge Peleus
> Clarus erat Divâ; nec avi magis ille superbit
> Nomine, quam soceri, *siquidem* Jovis esse nepoti
> Contigit haud uni, conjux Dea contigit uni."

Even, however, should my very disinterested plea for the German Doctor avail anything, I do not mean to imply that I agree to the conclusion at which I suppose he has arrived—namely, that there were human sacrifices throughout the classic times of Rome. I cannot reconcile such a conclusion with the silence of the highest classical authorities.

Such writers as Prudentius, Minutius, and Lactantius were prejudiced against Pagan usages, and readily gave credit to unfavourable reports of them.

Surely if it had been the annual usage in Rome, in classic times, to offer human victims to Jupiter, Cicero could never have uttered these words: "Quidquam Gallis sanctum ac religiosum videri potest? Qui etiam si quando aliquo metu adducti, Deos placandos arbitrantur, humanis hostiis eorum aras funestant ut ne religionem quidem colere possint, nisi eam ipsam scelere violarint. Quis enim ignorat eos usque ad hunc diem retinere illam immanem ac barbaram consuetudinem hominum immolandorum?"

Now I will release you, being quite ready to offer up

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Lactantius, Prudentius, and Dr. Gieseler himself as sacrifices to Cicero.

I deserve no credit for my parade of learning. One book suggests reference to another, and commentators supply quotations to those who have patience to read them.

Believe me, &c., &c.,

ROBERT PEEL.

On December 26th, 1847, I replied at some length to Sir Robert Peel, sending him a literal translation of Dr. Gieseler's note. [Enclosure A.]

Of the first authority cited in that note I went on to say:—

Porphyry was known to me by name as one of the later Pagan philosophers—the pupil of Longinus and the master of Iamblichus. But I was wholly ignorant of his works, and contented to remain so. However, my diligence being, as it should be, quickened by Mr. Macaulay's and yours, I have been to a dusty collection, not my own, to look at the original passage, and ascertain the critical character which Porphyry bears; and I now beg you to accept the result of my research. [Enclosure B.]

The testimony he gives seems the strongest of all; and it comes, you will observe, from one who, ever since the time he became an author, showed himself a bitter enemy of the Christian Faith, so that in him the testimony is an admission instead of an accusation.

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I think that you have fully established your position as to the meaning of *Siquidem*.

But I confess that I should not quite concur in the cruel immolations which you without pity propose—"to offer up Lactantius, Prudentius, and Dr. Gieseler himself as sacrifices to Cicero!" It seems to me that the authority of all these writers may be well reconciled by assuming that a human victim may have been among the *Peregrina Sacra*—the *externæ cærimoniæ*—which we know crept in to a large extent after the time of Hadrian. They had begun even under Tiberius, though probably not extending to such enormities, as we learn from Tacitus (Annal. lib. ii. c. 85) and Suetonius (Vita Tib. c. 38). In some reigns, as under Heliogabalus, the foreign appear to have even predominated over the old national rites.

I must own, however, that on my supposition the shrine of Jupiter Latialis is probably the very last where one might expect to meet with these *Peregrina Sacra*.

There is another objection to my own theory which occurs to me, and which (though I retain the theory) I will frankly state. Last winter, when reading through the series of the "Christian Apologies" (Tertullian, Minutius Felix, &c.), I observed that all of them, from the earliest to the latest, felt it necessary to notice and to rebut the accusation that the Christians in their nightly conclaves used to immolate a child. Absurd as we know this accusation to be, we can easily explain its existence from the heathen misapprehension of the terms in which they heard of the Holy Eucharist. But would this accusation have been so fiercely and re-

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peatedly urged if the Pagans themselves had been conscious of human sacrifices at their yearly festivals?

It is curious that the classical controversy now before us should have a direct bearing on the history of America, for it has been often debated, in reference to the accounts of early Mexico, how far the practice of human sacrifices can possibly coexist with any high degree of civilisation and refinement.

Enclosure (A.) *in Lord Mahon's Letter of December* 26, 1847.

Translation from the German of Dr. Gieseler's note, as it stands in the first editions of his Kirchen-Geschichte, vol. i. p. 26:—

"According to Porphyry (De Abstinentiâ Carnis, ii. c. 36), human sacrifices among the divers nations ceased in the time of Hadrian; but even in Porphyry's own time (about 280 after Christ) a human being was immolated every year in Rome to Jupiter Latialis. Lactantius (about 300 after Christ), in his 'Divin. Inst.' i. c. 21, has these words:—'Latialis Jupiter etiam nunc sanguine colitur humano.'"

Enclosure (B.) *in Lord Mahon's Letter of December* 26, 1847.

"The following passage occurs in Porphyry (libri iv. De Abstinentiâ Carnis, περὶ ἀποχῆς ἐμψυχῶν), ed. de Fogerolles, Lugdun. 1620. See in that work lib. ii. p. 225.

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Καταλυθῆναι δὲ τὰς ἀνθρωποθυσίας σχεδὸν τὰς παρὰ πᾶσι[1] φησὶ Πάλλας (ὁ ἄριστα τὰ περὶ τῶν τὸν Μίθρα συναγαγὼν μυστηρίων) ἐφ' Ἀδριανοῦ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος. Ἐθύετο γὰρ καὶ ἐν Λαοδικείᾳ τῇ κατὰ Συρίαν τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ κατ' ἔτος παρθένος, νῦν δὲ ἔλαφος, κ. τ. λ.

Ἀλλ' ἔτι καὶ νῦν τις ἀγνοεῖ κατὰ τὴν μεγάλην πόλιν τῇ τοῦ Λατιαρίου Διὸς ἑορτῇ σφαζόμενον ἄνθρωπον;

The following (and much besides) respecting the life and character of Porphyry is told by Fabricius (Bibliotheca Græca, vol. iv. p. 181, ed. 1711):—

"Porphyrius Tyrius fuit, patrio nomine Malchus Syrorum linguâ appellatus, discipulus Longini primum Athenis eruditissimi usque quaque viri . . . . . Natus est anno Christi 233, obiit Romæ postremis annis Diocletiani Imperatoris . . . . Licet quoque fuisset primitus Christianus ut Socrates (Hist. Eccles. lib. iii. c. 23) testatur et Augustinus (De Civitate Dei, lib. x. cap. 28) innuit, acerbus tamen postea ac vehemens Sacræ Religionis nostræ evasit hostis et insectator."

Sir Robert Peel to Lord Mahon.

December 26, 1847.

In a letter to me upon another subject, dated the same day as mine (December 26, 1847), Sir Robert Peel adds, upon the question of human sacrifices:—

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[1] Not perhaps a very usual phrase in Greek, but no doubt rightly rendered by Fogerolles, "*pæne ex omni imperio.*"

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"What say you to the following passages in Livy and Suetonius?

"Livy, lib. xxii. cap. 57:—

"'Interim ex fatalibus libris sacrificia aliquot extraordinaria facta; inter quæ Gallus et Galla, Græcus et Græca, in foro boario sub terrâ vivi demissi sunt in locum saxo conseptum, jam ante hostiis humanis, minime Romano sacro, imbutum.'

"Suetonius, Octavius:—

"'Scribunt quidam trecentos ex dedititiis electos utriusque ordinis ad aram Divo Julio extructam Idibus Martiis hostiarum more mactatos.'

"I do not know what was the precise assertion of Dr. Gieseler, or to what periods of Roman history he refers."

Right Hon. T. B. Macaulay to Lord Mahon.

Albany,
DEAR LORD MAHON, December 27, 1847.

I return the extract from Porphyry. It is very strong. But I am not convinced. I have spent half an hour in looking into my books, and I feel quite satisfied that there is no foundation for this Eastern story about the Italian worship.

The best account of the origin of the feast of Jupiter Latiaris—otherwise called the Feriæ Latinæ—which I have found is in Dionysius. The object of the institution seems to have been political. The solemnity was

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common to all the cities of Latium, and was meant to bind them together in close alliance. The rites, says Dionysius, were celebrated in the Alban Mount. Every member of the confederation furnished a contingent towards the expenses. Now observe:—

Ταύτας τὰς ἑορτάς τε καὶ τὰς θυσίας μέχρι τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς χρόνων τελοῦσι Ρωμαῖοι, Λατίνας καλοῦντες· καὶ φέρουσιν εἰς ταύτας αἱ μετέχουσαι τῶν ἱερῶν πόλεις, αἱ μὲν, ἄρνας· αἱ δέ, τυρούς· αἱ δὲ, γάλακτός τι μέτρον· αἱ δὲ ὅμοιόν τι τούτοις πελάνου γένος· ἑνὸς δὲ ταύρου κοινῶς ὑπὸ πασῶν δυομένου, μέρος ἑκάστη τὸ τεταγμένον λαμβάνει.

Now can anybody believe that Dionysius, who had been at Rome, would have written thus if a human sacrifice had been part of the rite?

You mentioned Cicero's strong expressions about the aversion of the Romans to human sacrifices; but observe that Cicero himself had officiated as Consul at the feast of Jupiter Lactinius. He described the solemnity incidentally in his poem on his own Consulship. You will find the passage in the first book 'De Divinatione.' He introduces Urania speaking to him:—

"Tu quoque cum tumulos Albano in monte nivales
Lustrasti, et læto mactasti lacte Latinas."

This mention of the milk exactly agrees with Dionysius's account. But can you believe that, on this occasion, Cicero sacrificed a man, and then described the ceremony as one performed *læto lacte?* In short, do you believe that Cicero ever sacrificed a man?

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I must stop. I have to preside at the Chelsea Board to-day.

Ever yours,

T. B. MACAULAY.

Sir Robert Peel to Lord Mahon.

Drayton Manor,
Jan. 4, 1848.

MY DEAR LORD MAHON,

I return to you the enclosed letter from Mr. Macaulay.

I doubt whether there is to be found among unprejudiced contemporary writers any evidence on which you could convict the Romans of offering human sacrifices during the classical times of Roman history.

I think, if the practice had prevailed, there would have been such evidence. The *Peregrina Sacra* were in later times solemnized in Rome, but the Romans appear to have been adverse to their solemnization. I can find no evidence that human victims were offered at these *Peregrina Sacra;* and had they been offered, it is still more probable that conclusive evidence of the fact would have been left on record.

I must at the same time observe that there are, among classical writers, many vague allusions to expiatory or propitiatory human sacrifices.

In the cases of some offences—punishable by death—there appears to have been, in the earlier times of Rome, a tendency to offer up the victim of the law as a sacrifice to some God; at least to confound the notions of

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legal punishment with expiatory sacrifice. Mention is somewhere made of a person convicted of *proditio*, and punishable with death, being offered up as a sacrifice to Pluto. In Livy (lib. viii. cap. 1) is the following passage:—"Illud adjiciendum videtur licere Consuli, Dictatorique et Prætori cum legiones hostium devoveat non utique se, sed quem velit ex legione Romanâ scriptâ civem devovere," &c. &c.

I add a curious passage from Dion Cassius.

The two men to whom he refers were probably mutinous soldiers, and punished capitally for mutiny. I only refer to it for the purpose of establishing my position that there are passages in classical writers which would warrant the impression that, in early periods of Roman history, human sacrifices, for the purpose of propitiation, were deemed to be efficacious.

I doubt whether there is any conclusive evidence to the fact of human sacrifices in contemporary classical authorities speaking of their own knowledge.

Believe me, &c., &c.,

ROBERT PEEL.

There is a passage in Florus, I think, in which he speaks of *humanæ hostiæ* offered by the Samnites, but it is a mere general charge.

Enclosure in Sir Robert Peel's Letter of January 4, 1848.

Dion Cassius, lib. xliii. (*Jul. Cæsar*):—

Ἄλλοι δὲ δύο ἄνδρες ἐν τρόπῳ τινι ἱερουργίας ἐσφάγησαν. Καὶ τὸ μὲν αἴτιον οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν (οὔτε γὰρ ἡ

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Σίβυλλα ἔχρησεν, οὔτ' ἄλλο τι τοιοῦτον λόγιον εγένετο), ἐν δ' οὖν τῷ Ἀρείῳ πεδίῳ πρός τε τῶν ποντιφίκων καὶ πρὸς τοῦ ἱερέως τοῦ Ἄρεος ἐτύθησαν, καὶ γε αἱ κεφαλαὶ αὐτῶν πρὸς τὸ βασίλειον ἀνετέθησαν.

Mr. Hallam, in a letter to me, dated Wilton Crescent, January 18, 1848, mentions his recent visit to Drayton Manor, and goes on to say,—

The party consisted of Lord Aberdeen and his youngest son, Goulburn, the Bishop of Oxford, Buckland, and Eastlake, with Lord and Lady Villiers. . . . . Sir Robert mentioned the sacrificial correspondence, but without giving any more decisive opinion than he had done. He showed me the passage in Dion Cassius (lib. xliii. c. 24), which certainly mentions a human sacrifice by Cæsar, though with some surprise; but perhaps his surprise is more on account of no sufficient reason being known for it than from its being absolutely unheard of. The Bishop of Oxford observed that Porphyry's expression *τίς ἀγνοεῖ?* is often used when men assert what is not true, without giving an instance. And certainly it is not uncommon now to hear "Everybody knows" about that of which most people know nothing.

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